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Selections from the chief Publications of the Half-year.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR
THROUGH PART OF
The Snowy Range
OF
THE HIMALA MOUNTAINS,
And to the Sources of the
RIVERS JUMNA AND GANGES.

BY JAMES BAILLIE FRASER, ESQ.

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[Mr. Fraser attended the invading army which was employed to keep the Nepalaze within their mountains, and prevent them from partaking of the luxuries of the plains, which, it is presumed, are reserved for the commercial sovereigns of the East and their agents. Perhaps, however, these pretensions of the simple mountaineers were incompatible with the monopolies of the other party, and hence, if the latter were, at all events, to be maintained, the war was unavoidable. The question of justice depends on the right of monopoly, or on the justice of the cause of the first invaders of the plains, which were in this war the subject of contest. Be this, however, as it may, the war and its issue enabled some intelligent persons attached to the British army, to record their observations on hitherto unexplored regions, and one of these results is the great and interesting work of Mr. Fraser; of the literary execution of which, our readers can judge from the extracts that follow; but of the magnificent coloured ATLAS, an adequate notion cannot be conveyed without seeing it. No book in our language enjoys a corresponding appendage, excepting the last voyage of Cook, and the Embassy of Macartney, and it vies in splendour with either of them.]

THE AUTHOR'S MOTIVES.

THE Journal and the Observations contained in the following pages are, with very sincere diffidence, submitted to the public. The author has been induced to venture on this measure chiefly by a desire to add his mite to the general stock of geographical knowledge; the more so, as any information respecting
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a tract of country so very little known, promised to be somewhat interesting, however imperfectly conveyed: and it seemed desirable to exhibit a picture of its inhabitants, as they appeared before an intercourse with Europeans had in any degree changed them, or even before they had mixed much with the inhabitants of the plains. It were disingenuous and unavailing to deny, that he was also influenced by a secret feeling of satisfaction, at being recognized as the first European, who had penetrated to several of the scenes described, as well as by that universal and powerful tendency of our nature to gratify its vanity by relating the strange, the uncommon, or dangerous enterprises in which we have been engaged.

The author and his party enjoyed a perfect and unrestrained freedom, together with full access to every place and person, private and public, as conquerors and as benefactors. They proceeded through the land with perfect facility of seeing and observing, and of making every enquiry into its moral and political state, while his own want of skill in the language was compensated by the company of those who were perfect masters of it. He also enjoyed the means of procuring a tolerably accurate survey of the country, and of amassing materials for a map, in the general accuracy of which, as far as relates to its greater lines, and a considerable portion of its detail, he places great confidence.

Thus, though the country may now be visited with little risk or difficulty, and though gentlemen of science have been appointed to survey it from Sardah to the Sutlej, who will have opportunities, at least as good as those enjoyed by the author, to make their observations, together with far greater ability to take advantage of them, and talent to describe their result, still the physical difficulties of the country are so great, and the obstacles to making such results available to the public are so numerous, that a very long time will, in all probability, elapse before any description of
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it can appear, and till then, even so unsatisfactory an attempt as the present may be received with indulgence.

Having resolved on publication, the author was only desirous of relating with simplicity what he had seen and heard, and of describing facts, and the impression they made on him at the moment, with truth and correctness: he is deeply sensible of the defects of his work, but he still believes that any man can describe what he has seen and heard, better than he who writes from the accounts of another, and that the errors into which he may fall are more tolerable, than the affectation which too often pervades those works, which are compiled by the professed makers of books.

NEPALASE WAR.

In the end of 1814 it was deemed expedient by the British government to declared war against that of Nepal.

This power, emboldened by a long course of success and conquest, had commenced a deliberate system of encroachment on the British boundaries, and a course of insult towards its lower ministers, which, at length, it became absolutely necessary to repel.

That belt of low, wooded, and marshy but rich land, known by the name of the Turraee, or Turreeana, which, lying at the foot of the hills, stretches along from the Burrampooter to Rohilcund, chiefly belongs to the countries under British government, or to those which are under its protection. This was the scene of their violence, and the object of their ambition. Our police was attacked and abused; the zemindars were plundered and even murdered; and the petty chiefs, dependent on our protection and authority, if they did not agree to the terms of these oppressors, were insulted and driven from their homes and properties.

After much negotiation, many moderate representations of these wrongs and grievances, with strong remonstrances, and earnest appeals to the justice and humanity of the ruling powers of Nepal for redress, to which no satisfactory answer was returned, or explanation ever given, and after many assurances of a sincere desire for continuing that friendly understanding which had hitherto subsisted between the two powers, but which gave rise to nothing but empty compliments and political delay, a manifesto was published.

The conduct of this war, with its consequences, offered to us sources of information regarding Nepal and the coun-

tries contained in the mountainous belt that confines Hindostan, of which heretofore there was but little known; and as it was in consequence of this war that opportunity was obtained to make the journeys related in the following pages, it seems not irrelevant to premise a short notice of the principal events that occurred in a campaign so novel and so arduous as that which gave the first blow to the Ghoorkha power, and led to a final peace.

THE GHOORKHAS.

Prithenarrain Sah, a considerable number of years ago, possessed the small state of Ghoorkha, situated considerably to the northward of Nepal. His subjects were peculiarly warlike and active; and he himself was of a very ambitious turn of mind. Raising a small army, he fell upon the neighbouring petty state of Noarcote; and, after a considerable lapse of time, possessed himself of it.

He then turned his views to the valley of Nepal. This valley, small as it is, lying within a circumference of forty miles, then contained three separate and independent states; the chiefs of which, as may be supposed, were not amicably disposed to each other: these, were, Jey Purgass, rajah of Catmandu; Runjeet Mul, of Bhat-Gung; and Chunum Purgass, of Patum: and they were at this time in a state of open war with one another.

Taking advantage of this, Prithenarrain Sah entered the country, and subdued the whole, after a long and a severe struggle; during which time strange and fearful cruelties are said to have been committed on the inhabitants by his order.

Having thus established his power in the most fertile valley of the hills, he became more rapacious than ever. The next victim was the state of Muckwanpoore; and he extended his conquests eastward to the Jeesta; when, having thus raised a kingdom and a name, he died, leaving his dominions to his son, Singa Purtab. He only reigned one year and a half, during which time he added nothing to the Nepalese dominions; and his son, Rung Bahadur, succeeded him on the throne.

Under this prince, who was of a very determined character, verging on cruelty, the work of conquest went rapidly on.

First fell Lungoon and Kashka, two small states to the southward; Tunoon, Noacote, the second; Burbut, Preesing, Suttoon,

Suttoon, Isnea, successively; then turning further to the westward, Muscote, Dhurcote, Irga, Ghootima, Jumla, Rugun, Dharma, Jeharee, Prietana, Dhanee, Jasercote, Cheelee, Golam, Acham, Dhy-leck, Dhooloo, and Dhottee, followed.

This last is a large state, divided from Kumaoon by the Kaleenuddee, and stretching through the hills nearly to the plains. Then Kanchee fell, and Palpai; which drew with it also Bhooturul and Sulean. By this time the whole mountainous district, from the Jeesta to the Gograh, was in the hands of the Nepalese. But, not content with this, they conceived the conquest of the states to the westward, and hoped to gain possession of even the rich and beautiful valley of Cashmeer.

Kumaoon soon yielded; but Gurhwhal resisted their efforts for twelve years, chiefly from the delay that the capture of one fort occasioned to them. All the country, from the confines of Gurhwhal to the Sutlej, fell an easy prey; when once established at Sreenuggur, they crossed that river to pursue their fortune, and laid siege to the strong fort of Kangrah, in the state of that name: but there their good fortune deserted them; and the inhabitants, assisted by the Sikhs, to whom they are tributary, resisted all the efforts of the invaders; and they lost more men in that long protracted siege than in the conquests of half the country besides.

NEPAL.

Nepal is, and must be, a very poor state. Its mountain population can hardly feed themselves; and the large numbers that are found in the valley and its environs, are chiefly supplied with food from those districts of the Turraee that are still under the controul of the Nepalese government; and from this fruitful tract was the chief part of the revenue drawn. Without this country the Nepalese could never have risen to the greatness which they had attained; but they knew not when to stop: the value of the country attracted their cupidity, and brought on the war that was to destroy them.

From the extent of their population, it will be inferred that the military establishment of this people is extensive: and so in fact it is, considering the means possessed by the state to arm and to maintain a large force.

The whole male population capable of bearing arms are understood to be liable to military service in times of

danger and necessity. They are not, however, all regularly trained to arms. But there are numbers of regular troops, formed into different corps, which are dispersed throughout the country, always leaving a large disposable force near the capital. This standing force my information has stated to amount to from 30 to 35,000 men; besides the forces beyond the Kaleenuddee, under Hustee Dhul, Bum Sab, and Ummr Sing Thappah.

These men are regularly officered, somewhat after the manner of Europeans; and they affect much the European exercise, dress and arms. Even the denomination of rank given to the officers is English; and besides fougedars, suobahdars, jemadars, amildars, &c. we find colonels and captains commanding their corps. The corps often take the name of the person who raised them: and, as a specimen of their military nomenclature, and of the regime of their troops, I have given in the appendix a list of the Nepal forces and corps, taken from some of the Ghoorkha officers, as it existed some twelve or fifteen years ago. It is not by any means offered as a correct list, in numbers or in detail, of the Nepalese military establishment.

The regular army of Nepal has been for so long a time accustomed to active service, to a series of constant warfare and victory, that the men have become really veteran soldiers, under the advantages of necessary control, and a certain degree of discipline; and, from their continual success, they have attained a sense of their own value—a fearlessness of danger, and a contempt of any foe opposed to them. They have much of the true and high spirit of a soldier—that of setting life at nought, in comparison with the performance of duty, and that high sense of honour, which forms his most attractive ornament, and raises his character to the highest.

The Ghoorkhas, and the people of the neighbouring states, have, in appearance, a great resemblance to the Malay or Chinese physiognomy; and the Nepalese Proper I believe to partake much of this similitude. But the features and expression of the people in the various parts of the hills are very different; though very often referrible to Tartar or Chinese, and but little to the countenance of the Hindoo of the plains.

Their soldiers are stout, thick, well built

built men, in general; very active and strong for their size. They understand the use of the "tulwar," or sabre, and prefer close fighting, giving an onset with a loud shout: each man wears, besides his sword, a crooked, long, heavy knife, called "cookree," which may be used in war, but is also of the greatest use in all common operations, when a knife or hatchet is needed. The soldiers carry matchlocks or musquets: the latter have been partly obtained in traffick with the English, and are partly of their own manufacture, in various parts of the country.

SIEGE OF KALUNGA.

The third division of the British invading army, under Major-General Gillespie, made the first movement, and commenced active operations with little delay.

The general not having joined, the troops moved under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mawby, of his majesty's 53d regiment of foot, from Serhampore, whereto they had been previously ordered from Meeruth; and on the 22d of October cleared the Timlee pass, through the first range of hills into the Dhoon, and took up a position at Deyrah, the chief town in the valley, about five miles distant from the fort of Kalunga, or Nalapancee.

This fort is situated on an insulated hill, about 5 or 600 feet high, covered with jungle, and in most places very steep. The table-land on the top may be about three quarters of a mile in length; and on the southern and highest extremity of this hill was Kalunga built. It was an irregular fortification, following the form of the ground, and at this time was imperfect, the wall not having been fully raised; but they were busily engaged in heightening and strengthening it.

It was commanded by Bhulbudder Sing, nephew of Ummr Sing; and he had with him 3 or 400 men, chiefly of the regular troops of Nepal. A letter was sent to this chief, summoning him to surrender the fort. The manner in which he received this summons was characteristic of the people, and gave foretaste of the steady coolness with which they defended the place. The note was delivered to him at midnight; and he tore it, observing, that it was not customary to receive or answer letters at such unseasonable hours; but sent his salaam to the English sirdar,

assuring him that he would soon pay him a visit in his camp.

On the next day Colonel Mawby reconnoitred the place; and having carried up two six-pounders and two howitzers on elephants, made an attempt to take the fort by assault: however, after firing a few rounds, this was declared impracticable, and the party retreated.

General Gillespie joined, and took the command of the army. The place was again reconnoitred, and dispositions were immediately made for the assault: parties were employed in preparing fascines and gabions for the erection of batteries; and two twelve-pounders, four five-and-a-half-inch howitzers, and four six-pounders, were carried up the hill on elephants. The table-land was taken without any resistance on the part of the enemy; and batteries for the above-mentioned guns were ready to open on the fort on the morning of the 31st of October, at 600 yards distance.

The storming party was formed into four columns, and a reserve.

The first, under Colonel Carpenter, consisted of 611 officers and men.

The second, under Captain Fast, of 363 officers and men.

The third, under Major Kelly, of 541 officers and men.

The fourth, under Captain Campbell, of 283 officers and men.

The reserve, under Major Ludlow, of 939 officers and men.

These were so disposed as to ascend, at a given signal (the firing of a gun,) from different points, and thus distract the attention of the enemy from attending too much to any one point.

The enemy had, on his side, taken what precautions his situation afforded him the means of: the wall of the fort had been raised, though it was not then quite finished, so as to render it difficult, if not impossible, to gain the top without ladders, even in the lowest part. Every point where the fort was approachable, or thought weak, was covered by stockades, formed of stones and stakes stuck in the ground; a species of fortification in which the Ghoorkhas are very highly skilled. Guns were placed where they could do most execution; and at a wicket left open, but cross barred, so as to render entrance exceedingly difficult, and which flanked a great part of the wall, a gun was placed, to enfilade the approach with showers of grape.

The batteries kept up a warm and well directed

directed fire upon the fort; but the execution was not equal to expectation; and this, perhaps, uniting with the eagerness of a sanguine temper, induced General Gillespie to give the signal for the assault some hours sooner than was intended; and which, probably, from being unexpected, was not heard by either Major Kelly, Captain Campbell, or Captain Fast.

The column under Colonel Carpenter, and the reserve under Major Ludlow, then moved forward to the assault at nine o'clock, and carried the stocades surrounding the fort, putting to death, or driving in, the few of the enemy who occupied them: they pushed on to the walls, under a very heavy fire from the garrison, and suffering severely in officers and men: the few that reached them called out for ladders, which were not at first to be had. Lieutenant Ellis, of the pioneers, was shot, applying the first ladder himself, at the head of the first division; and many were killed and wounded with him. The obstacles were found too great to overcome; so that, after a long exposure, and a dreadful loss, the brave troops were compelled to fall back, under shelter of a village in the rear.

The general, seeing this, and being determined to surmount all difficulties, moved on from the batteries with three fresh companies of the 53d regiment, and reached a spot within thirty yards of the wicket; where, as he was cheering the men, waving his hat in one hand, and his sword in the other, he received a shot through the heart, and fell dead on the spot. His aide-de-camp, O'Hara, was killed beside him, and many other officers were wounded.

All the efforts of the officers were now insufficient to produce in the troops that enthusiastic courage which alone can triumph over such resistance; and Colonel Carpenter, on whom the command devolved after the death of General Gillespie, directed our force to retreat.

Both columns suffered much from the gun before spoken of, as placed in the wicket: when the reserve advanced, and got within the line it defended, the first discharge brought down the whole front line, killing seven, and wounding eleven. Several persons penetrated to this very wicket, but, unsupported, could produce no effect. A very heavy fire was kept up from the walls by the garrison, and showers of arrows and of stones were discharged at the assailants; and

many severe wounds were received from stones, which they threw very dexterously; the women were seen occupied in throwing them, and undauntedly exposing their persons.

Our loss was severe: besides the lamented general, four officers were killed and fifteen wounded; some of whom subsequently died. Twenty-seven non-commissioned officers and men were killed, and 213 wounded.

After the repulse, the army lay inactive till the arrival of the battering train from Delhi, which did not take place till the 24th of November; and on the 25th active operations were renewed.

By one o'clock of the 27th, the batteries, which had been erected within 300 yards of the wall, had effected a large and fully practicable breach; and although a warm fire had been kept up by the besieged, we had hardly sustained any loss.

Shells also had been thrown with great effect; and although the enemy had attempted a sally on the 27th, they were driven back with loss, by showers of grape. The commander, Colonel Manly, satisfied that the breach was practicable, ordered a storm.

The storming party was composed of all the grenadiers of the detachment, with the light company and one battalion company of the 53d, led by Major Ingleby of that regiment. They advanced to the breach, and stood for two hours exposed to a tremendous fire from the garrison, which destroyed many officers and men; but after every exertion on the part of their officers, and the fall of many, in leading and endeavouring to push them forward in spite of the obstacles that were opposed to them, without any success, it was deemed expedient to order a retreat, and the whole returned to the batteries.

Our soldiers advanced towards the breach with perfect self-possession and coolness: a few got to the crest, and fell there; the rest remained at a short distance, firing at the garrison, and exposed to a very destructive fire in return.

No one turned to fly; but none went onwards: they stood to be slaughtered. Their officers exposed themselves most gallantly and unreservedly. Lieutenant Harrington, of his Majesty's 53d, was killed on the breach, cheering and encouraging the men to follow: Lieutenant Luxford, of the horse artillery, having brought up a gun to the breach, to destroy the defences of the enemy within, and

and drive them from their quarters, received a shot through his body, of which he died; and besides these, there were many officers wounded. By the official return, there were three officers killed, eight wounded; 38 men killed, 440 wounded and missing:—an awful number, where the opponents did not equal these alone.

The fire from the batteries recommenced the next day, and shells were again thrown, the effect of which was so dreadful, from the unprotected state of the garrison, and from the demolished state of the defences, that the few and faint survivors, not exceeding 70 in number, abandoned the place on the night of the 30th; and fighting their way through the chain of posts placed to intercept them, escaped with the loss of a few men; pursued by Major Ludlow, with a party.

At three o'clock that morning, Major Kelly entered, and took possession of the fort; and there indeed the desperate courage and bloody resistance they had opposed to means so overwhelming were mournfully and horribly apparent. The whole area of the fort was a slaughter-house, strewed with the bodies of the dead and the wounded, and the dis-severed limbs of those who had been torn to pieces by the bursting of the shells; those who yet lived piteously calling out for water, of which they had not tasted for days.

The stench from the place was dreadful; many of the bodies of those that had been early killed had been insufficiently interred: and our officers found in the ruins the remains and the clothes of several thus incompletely covered, starting into view. One chief was thus found out, who had fallen in the first attempt, and had received this wretched semiseptulture.

The bodies of several women, killed by shot or shells, were discovered; and even children mangled, and yet alive, by the same ruthless engines. One woman, who had lost her leg, was found, and sent to the hospital, where she recovered; a young child was picked up, who had been shot by a musket-ball through both his thighs, and who also perfectly recovered; and there was also a fine boy of only three or four years old, whose father, a Soubahdar, had been killed, and who was left in the fort when it was evacuated; he was unhurt, and was taken care of. Upwards of 90 dead bodies were burnt by our

native troops; and about an equal number of wounded were sent to the hospital, and carefully treated: several prisoners also were taken.

The determined resolution of the small party which held this small post for more than a month, against so comparatively large a force, must surely wring admiration from every voice, especially when the horrors of the latter portion of this time are considered; the dismal spectacle of their slaughtered comrades, the sufferings of their women and children thus immured with themselves, and the hopelessness of relief, which destroyed any other motive for the obstinate defence they made, than that resulting from a high sense of duty, supported by unsubdued courage. This, and a generous spirit of courtesy towards their enemy, certainly marked the character of the garrison of Kalunga, during the period of its siege.

Whatever the nature of the *Ghoorkhas* may have been found in other quarters, there was here no cruelty to wounded or to prisoners; no poisoned arrows were used; no wells or waters were poisoned; no rancorous spirit of revenge seemed to animate them: they fought us in fair conflict, like men; and, in the intervals of actual combat, showed us a liberal courtesy worthy of a more enlightened people.

So far from insulting the bodies of the dead and wounded, they permitted them to lie untouched, till carried away; and none were stripped, as is too universally the case. The confidence they exhibited in the British officers was certainly flattering: they solicited and obtained surgical aid; and on one occasion this gave rise to a singular and interesting scene:—While the batteries were playing, a man was perceived on the breach, advancing and waving his hand. The guns ceased firing for a while, and the man came into the batteries; he proved to be a *Ghoorkha*, whose lower jaw had been shattered by a cannon shot, and who came thus frankly to solicit assistance from his enemy.

It is unnecessary to add, that it was instantly afforded. He recovered; and, when discharged from the hospital, signified his desire to return to his corps to combat us again: exhibiting thus, through the whole, a strong sense of the value of generosity and courtesy in warfare, and also of his duty to his country, separating completely in his own

own mind private and national feelings from each other,—and his frank confidence in the individuals of our nation, from the duty he owed his own, to fight against us collectively.

The remainder of the garrison of Kalunga, with their commander, Bhulbudder Sing, to the number of about seventy, retired to a hill some miles off, where they were joined by 300 men, who had lingered in the neighbourhood for some days, endeavouring to throw themselves into the fort.

Major Ludlow, with the force under his command, amounting to about 400 men, moved, on the afternoon of the 1st of December, to attack and dislodge them; he came up with them, after a very fatiguing march, about one in the morning of the 2d, on very difficult ground, on the hill where they had encamped for the night. They were on the alert; and the centinel challenged our men, who rushed forward, and fell on them, and dispersed them, with much loss. They fled, pursued by our troops, to the summit of the hill, where it was found necessary to desist, and collect our men.

Had they halted here, the end desired would have been obtained; but, flushed with success that had been so easy, the few headmost troops, in spite of the exertions of the officers to restrain them, still ran on to occupy a farther and stronger stockade, known afterwards during the siege as the second stockade, and the line followed in long disjointed succession: the consequence was, as might be expected, that the enemy alarmed by the first firing, had sent strong reinforcements towards the point attacked: and, by the time that the second stockade was endangered these had nearly reached it.

Jespaw Qaree, the officer in command, saw the disordered state of our troops, and how few of them were together. He sallied out from the flanks of the stockade, with no great number of men, sword in hand; bore down the foremost troops, who were running up the hill; put the rest to flight, and pursued them along the ridge which they had won before. Reinforced by fresh troops, the enemy followed up the charge; and our men out of breath and panic-struck could not be brought to rally.

Major Ludlow and the other officers did all that was possible to make a stand: three times, at rather favourable points

of ground, was it attempted to rally the troops; but as often, the Ghoorkhas coming up, they broke and fled; and at last, at the point where the crest had first been gained, our men dispersed down the hill on both sides, the Ghoorkhas following and cutting them to pieces.

The Ghoorkhas were at this moment swarming round the hill. The night was darkening around. The men were weary with their long march and a six hours combat, and were exhausted by a want of water, which there had been no means of procuring for several hours.

A retreat could not have been attempted under more unfavourable circumstances. The moment that the enemy saw our troops quitting the hill, they rushed in on all sides, cutting down the loiterers. The ground was so steep and broken, that it was impossible long to preserve order. Whilst descending a steep defile, the Ghoorkhas knowing the ground, attacked a party in advance, and thus caught our people in a double fire: then on all sides they broke in with their swords, cutting down the most unprotected.

Lieutenant Thackeray, of the 26th native infantry, with the light company of the regiment, covered the retreat as well as it could be done, under the confounding circumstances of the darkness, and of the ground, till he and Ensign Wilson were killed, with many men; and the rest were reduced to the necessity of shifting for themselves, in like manner as those they had been covering. The detachment, shattered down and worn out, reached camp on the morning of the 28th. Many were missing, who lost their way in the confusion and darkness. Several officers were killed; others were sheltered in the houses of the natives, kindly treated, and conducted into camp within a few days.

Our loss was severe: but it was not ascertained for several days, being lessened greatly by the return of stragglers: at length it was reduced to four officers killed, five wounded, seventy-nine non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 281 wounded and missing.*

THE HIMALA MOUNTAINS.

All this region between lat. 30 and 32 N. and long. 77 and 79, like the whole of the countries contained in the

* No one can read this horrible narrative, without sympathy for the brave mountaineers, who were nobly defending their altars and fire-sides.—ED.

long range of mountains, is wild, rugged, and difficult of access, consisting of a mass of hills irregularly connected, or diverging in ranges of various heights from a huge elevated centre, but preserving no regularity of direction or of form. Their tops are sometimes clothed with forests of old and venerable wood; sometimes they are rocky, and green or brown; and it will be afterwards observed that the general aspect, to the south and south-east, is always less wooded and less broken (though still very rough,) than that to the north and north-west, which is almost uniformly precipitous, formed of sharp crags covered with deep pine forests.

The ravines that divide these hills are deep and very sudden in their descent, often ending in dark chasms that are sometimes wooded, but they as often exhibit faces of bare rock of several hundred feet high, frowning at each other, with little more space between them than has been worn by the violence of the torrents; these taking their ways from the mountain brows, where they have been collected from clouds, and rain, and melting snow, thunder down, and form these furrows in their sides.

There are no spreading valleys, no rich meadow lands on the banks of rivers, no gentle undulation of ground on which the eye can rest with pleasure; all is steep and difficult: toilsome rise and sudden fall. Such a country offers little encouragement to the industry of the husbandmen; and, accordingly, cultivation, which is limited in proportion to the extent of surface, is laboriously and sparingly scattered among the woods and rocks.

As the country recedes from the plains it increases in difficulty and elevation, till at the foot of the snowy mountains it assumes a savage wildness; and among them, save in the passes or the beds of rivers, becomes totally impracticable and impervious.

The rivers and their beds too, it will be seen, gradually change their character as we approach nearer to their source, from the rapid and turbulent stream flowing through a deep and a rugged channel, but affording a comparatively easy road along its banks, to a furious torrent dashing from one huge block of stone to another, along which the traveller proceeds at first with difficulty, which increases to hazard of life, climbing over rocks, and picking his dangerous way across the face of precipices, till

at length his career is stopped by masses of mighty ruin, that baffle all human attempts to invade them.

COUNTRY AROUND JYTOCK AND NAHN.

Much cultivation, wherever the ground admits of being worked, speckles the sloping sides of these wooded mountains. It is entirely effected by cutting those parts most adapted to the operation into a succession of terraces, rising above one another exactly like a flight of steps, having a flat level surface, and a perpendicular face, in a manner that will hereafter be more particularly alluded to; and on the surface of these the corn grows. A large proportion of the mountain sides is thus seen carved into stripes, and exhibiting a very singular appearance.

Even where corn does not grow, the marks of former culture are evident; and the stranger's eye, next to the sharp ridginess of the hills, is attracted by the curious effect which this gives to their sides.

Villages, either inhabited or in ruins, abound all over them; and, could it be supposed that all these had ever been at the same time occupied, it would give a strong impression of former populousness, and present desolation: but the truth is, that as one place became exhausted, or as inclination prompted, or as various accidents might determine them, the people quitted one village, which fell into decay, and established themselves in another, which was new and flourishing.

True it is, that much devastation was made, and many districts were depopulated by the severity of the conquerors; but not to the degree that might be presumed from appearances.

The villages are sometimes large, but oftener very mean.

The houses are flat roofed, built of stone, with wooden beams supporting a terrace of stone and wood. Some are of two stories, but in general they consist of one. They are very rudely constructed; frequently the side of the hill serves for one of the walls, whence beams, that are fastened in it, project, and are supported by the external wall or front.

The doors are uncommonly small, so that a man must enter by the head and shoulders, and drag the rest of his body after him. But with all this rudeness, I have been astonished to see the neatness within doors; the floor is smooth, well swept, and clean: and the fireplace

place in the middle is well contrived, although the smoke must annoy those who are not accustomed to its effects. A few shelves are seen placed around, and in some instances a little furniture of coarse construction may be found.

The cows, their chief wealth, have always a respectable share of the house, comfortable and dry; although they do not give them a much larger opening through which to make their entrance and exit than they allow themselves; and I have sometimes admired the animals insinuating themselves through so narrow an aperture.

These villages are often very pleasantly situated, and almost always adorned with a few lemon or walnut trees, or, where they will grow, with mango trees, that throw a grateful shade over the houses, and terraces of stone built at their roots, yield a comfortable seat to the inhabitants under their branches.

THE INHABITANTS.

The inhabitants of the country surrounding the capital, and the district in its vicinity, are not calculated to excite much interest either from character or appearance. Generally speaking, they are contemptible in size, mean in aspect, cringing in address; their intellect appears degraded, and their ignorance almost brutal.

Those of a rank which has afforded them the means of acquiring a very circumscribed knowledge of the world, and with it some ease of manner in their behaviour, still create disgust by the servile humility which they display to those whom they deem their superiors in power.

The higher class of peasantry (here denominated zemindars) with a still greater absence of all polish, are marked by the same contemptible weakness and meanness, the same disposition to falsehood and deceit, so strongly apparent in the higher orders; and the lower class of labourers seem depressed in mental qualifications nearly to a level with the beasts of the field.

Their stature is almost universally diminutive. When an individual of larger body and greater height is met with, it is as we see persons of Herculean mould in other parts of the world, forming an exception to the general rule.

They are, however, remarkably stout, and compactly made; their limbs, particularly their legs and thighs, are uncommonly muscular in proportion to their size, and their general strength,

especially in carrying burthens, is very great. Their early habits will account for this: accustomed from their youth to climb these steep hills, their muscles strengthen and enlarge, and the bracing cold of their climate confirms the effect of this *education*. Comparing their strength in this way with that of the inhabitants of the plains, far their superiors in size, it is really surprizing. The common load for a man in these parts is thirty seer, or about sixty pounds weight; and this, with the addition probably of several pounds of coarse flour for his own consumption, besides his clothes, &c. he will carry with sufficient ease along the roughest roads, up the steepest ascents, and down the most dangerous declivities. Those who possess superior strength will carry far more; all will, thus loaded, continue a march from twelve to fifteen miles a day up and down these rugged mountains.

The colour of these people, like that of their neighbours in the plains, is found of every shade, from dark brown or black to a tawny yellow, and in a few instances they approach to white.

Whatever the original colour may be, those exposed to severe labour and the effects of the sun speedily become dark.

Their hair is black, and they commonly wear it long at the sides and back of the head, hanging down about the ears, where it is cut round; the crown is often shaven bare; they all wear mustachios, and their own black beard, which they seem to consider a great ornament, and cherish with much care.

The general cast of their countenance is Hindoo, but they seldom possess the softness and even intelligence that may be considered a marked characteristic of the Hindoo physiognomy. Their eyes are sunk deep into the head, commonly of a black, but often of grey and other colours. The nose is prominent, sharp, and inclined to aquiline; the forehead high and round, the cheekbones high, the chin long, and the whole visage long and spare, much drawn into wrinkles at the corners of the eyes and brows, from great exposure to the sun; in short, the countenance exhibits an habitual grin.

The dress of this people is very simple; that of the middling class consists of the common jacket of cotton, ending in skirts, which are shorter than usual, more full and puckered up into folds than the Hindoo "*ungurca*" (a sort of gown

gown or long skirted coat that forms the common Hindoo dress in the upper provinces,) tied round the waist, and reaching to the knee, something like the Scotch highland philibeg; under these are worn a pair of cotton trowsers; around the shoulders they wrap a piece of cotton cloth in a manner resembling the Scotch plaid, which when the sun is hot they throw also over the head, but the usual covering for the head is only a dirty skullcap of cotton, beneath which their wild locks and hard features look forth in savage guise. Such is their warm weather clothing. When it is colder they exchange their cotton trowsers for a pair of thick coarse woollen drawers, and wrap a blanket round them, with which when it rains they also envelope the head.

The poorer sort, who can hardly procure such costly raiment, content themselves with a coarse blanket, and a small cloth round the middle. Many of these I have seen so wild and ragged, that they seemed scarcely human. The superior classes of nobles and chiefs dress much in the common fashion of Hindostan, but affect the Sikh turban, which being wrapt snugly round the head in many folds, towers in a round point to a great height in front.

Arms are not common; it formed a part of the Ghoorka policy to disarm the natives of the states they subdued, and few were admitted to the privilege of carrying any weapon.

When the country was raised, it was necessary to furnish with arms the soldiers who presented themselves for service. The people now supplied themselves as they could with swords, knives, matchlocks, bows and arrows, or Ghoorka cookrees, but they were deficient both in arms and in the knowledge of their use; those, however, who could procure them, always wore a sword, a shield, and a small axe (called daugrah) or a cookree.

The women are in general more prepossessing in appearance than the men; their stature is better in proportion, and their features far more delicate and regular, with much of the pleasing Hindoo softness in youth. They are commonly fair, varying in colour from a mild yellow to a slight shade of brown; but labour and exposure to the sun and storm soon destroy all delicacy of feature, colour, and all vestiges of beauty, leaving while yet young in years a wrinkled sallow visage.

The strong habitual jealousy so prevalent over the east does not seem to have power here. That plan of seclusion so universally practised by Asiatics, which shuts the women from the eyes of all but one, is here not adopted. The females appear abroad as unreservedly as the men; and far from flying at the sight of strangers, they will remain and converse, showing no other feeling than the occasional shyness natural to all uneducated women introduced to the presence of persons they never saw before. On several occasions, when we had approached the place they were in, I have seen them continue occupying themselves with their household concerns, and even give the breast to their children as if none were by.

That this state of freedom proceeds from enlightened motives, no one judging by analogy with their other habits can suppose. As eastern female seclusion is the effect of gloomy and tyrannical jealousy, and the wantonness of luxury and power; so, when these latter are not present to operate, and poverty checks the madness of passion, the inconvenience of such a custom will prevent its adoption, and the common course of nature will not be counteracted.

Females are valuable labourers, and thus escape imprisonment. The natives do not possess that keenly sensitive and unoccupied mind which usually becomes a prey to jealousy.

They are too gross, too little accustomed to mental exercise; and the small portion of forethought they have is too completely occupied in providing for the subsistence of the day, and the absolute necessities of life, to admit of a feeling so refined as jealousy.

So far are they indeed from any such tincture, that chastity, it is to be feared, is a virtue little known, and less valued; and this will seem the less strange, when their customs regarding marriage come to be known, and particularly one of a most singular revolting nature, which in fact establishes to a certain degree among them a sort of community of wives.

It is usual for a family of four or five brothers to marry and possess the same woman at the same time, who thus becomes the wife in common to all: of this usage a full account will be given hereafter; but the general ideas regarding female virtue may be inferred from the admission of a practice so disgusting.

The dress of the females is quite the same as that of the Hindoos in the plains;

plains; a short wrapper, or coortee, covers the shoulders and breast; a petticoat is tied around the waist, and a doputta, or long piece of cloth, is wrapt around the head, shoulders, and bosom, like a shawl, in various and elegant shapes. These habiliments are fabricated of cotton, plain, coloured, or striped, and are manufactured in, and procured from, the low country. Ornaments are here as much affected as usual among the softer sex, and they procure all sorts to the extent of their ability.

The women of the poorer class wear any kind of dress they can get, and claim no description of peculiar costume. Indeed among them, at times, are seen creatures of extraordinary appearance, to the full as wild and savage as the men; and we have frequently, while strolling past or through a village, come upon a being of the female gender, whose appearance made it difficult to class her with any known genus of animal.

THEIR RELIGION.

The religion these people profess is Hindooism; but their practice is chiefly confined to the superstitious belief in, and adoration of, an endless number of imaginary powers (which never had a place in any faith till they received one from these ignorant beings,) and in the partial observances of cast, and other common Hindoo prejudices.

The common and established Hindoo deities are acknowledged and held sacred, and there are temples to their worship; but the powers good and evil, with which the superstitious imagination of the "Paharia," or mountaineer (from "pahar," a hill,) has peopled every hill, every grove, and every dell, are far more commonly the object of his fervent and fearful devotion.

In short, the religion, wild as it is among its most enlightened professors in the plains, is perverted and metamorphosed in the hills to a degree of such superior confusion, that it quite defies all order or comprehension.

The Paharia pays his adoration to the cow, protects it, and uses it well. He will not sell one except to a Hindoo, and refused many of the British officers, who offered him gold for these holy animals, merely for the sake of their milk. But he works it hard, as all his countrymen do, using it in the laborious departments of agriculture, as plowing, treading out the grain, &c.

The same detail of casts is found as in the plains. There is no scarcity of

brahmins, who here, as in other places, take excellent care of themselves.

Almost every one calls himself a Rajpoot, save those who honestly confess to enquirers that they are *coolies*, that is, of the lowest class; "*chumars*," or persons who stript the skins from carcasses, and who are also shoemakers.

In short, the detail of the people in the country under consideration, as far as we saw it in the vicinity of Nahn, was very similar to what may be met with among other petty Hindoo states, where Mahomedanism has not obtained a firm footing.

THEIR AGRICULTURE.

To judge, however, by the difficulty with which cultivation is attended, and by the successful progress which has been made in covering the steep and lofty hills with crops, both here and in the country through which we have passed, the inhabitants must be a patient and industrious race, when it is considered that a spot of ground of any considerable extent seldom occurs where even the rude plough which they employ can be used without the previous assistance of art; that the side of the mountains must be cut and levelled to produce a field for tillage; that water must be conducted for the purposes of irrigation, frequently from a great distance; and when the insufficient means, together with the rude tools they possess to effect this, are observed, it will perhaps excite wonder that corn-tillage should have been attempted at all in a land that appears only calculated at best for grazings; and it must surely appear astonishing that the inhabitants, thinly scattered as they are, can raise as much grain as is requisite for their own support, and can spare a portion to those of other districts and countries which are not so well supplied. Their method of cultivation is so ingenious and neat that it merits a particular description.

As level ground is seldom to be met with, the least rocky faces of the hills are cut into a succession of terraces, rising above each other; which operation produces a number of strips of level ground, more or less narrow according to the steepness of the hill, and more or less regular according to its ruggedness. Great labour and care are bestowed on this operation. It is generally necessary to build a retaining wall, to support the edge of the small strip of ground, of a height corresponding with that of the bank, and much attention is paid

paid to levelling its surface, so that water may neither rest upon it, nor, in running off, carry away any portion of its scanty soil: but this exact level is also necessary to fit it for receiving the benefit of irrigation; and every rivulet (with which indeed the hills abound) is diverted from its course at a height sufficient for their purpose (consequently often from a great distance), and led by small drains, constructed with much neatness and skill, first to the higher cultivated spots, from which it flows to the rest, or is again collected into a stream, after saturating them, and carried to another and lower range of fields.

Sometimes these streams are carried across a deep dell by means of long hollow trees, supported by high piles of stones, for the purpose of irrigating the opposite side of the valley, where water could less easily have been conveyed from above.

This irrigating system is chiefly necessary for the rice crop, which, though not put into the ground till the rains have set in, frequently requires the assistance of artificial flooding. The spring and summer crop, however, of wheat and barley, scarcely less require this aid, as showers are often scanty from the time of sowing till the corn is full.

This practice of cutting the hill-faces into small fields has given to them, all over the country, a peculiar ridgy appearance, which, next to their great ruggedness and steepness, chiefly attracts a traveller's eye: it produces a strange regularity, which frequently takes from the dignity of the landscape.

The appearance, which the mode of cultivation gives to a country, is very singular; and when (as was the case with much that we saw) it is flooded by irrigation, the singularity is heightened by the aspect of a hilly country partly under water. The inhabitants, indeed, appear to trust much more to this mode of supplying moisture than to the rain which falls, particularly in the vicinity of the plains; and this may account for their levelling all the fields, of whatever size they may be, even where a patch of ground is found sufficiently equal to render it practicable for the plough, and which in any other country would be subjected to that instrument: without regard to the undulation it might have, they still level it as much as possible, dividing it into larger ledges according to its fall, with parapets and diked faces as usual.

The instruments used in manual la-

bour are equally simple and inefficient. A stick crossed at right angles, one end of which is shod with iron, resembling a miserable and broken sort of pickaxe, seems to be the principal one. But whatever their implements may be, or whether the fields are worked by the plough or by the hand, they do assuredly bring them to a high degree of tilth.

The crops of barley and wheat by this time were either cut or ripening, and some fields were prepared for and even sown with rice; but those which were ready for it exhibited a clean, equal, well-worked appearance, which could not be surpassed by an English farmer, with all his various and expensive apparatus.

Of the use of manure they are by no means unaware: traces of its application appeared in most fields; but I could not learn that they pursued a regular rotation of cropping, or continued to sow the grains they chiefly required year after year. I rather believe they do, giving an occasional fallow of some years when the land is exhausted, or renewing it with manure and fresh soil.

From what has been said it will appear that two crops are reaped within the year; but it seldom happens that the same land will suit each sort of grain, or that if it should, they employ it for both crops.

The first crop consists of wheat and barley: a few fields of a species of oats were observed. Poppy, and certain kinds of oily seeds, a sort of purslane, with curiously variegated red and green leaves, and a few poor inferior grains, filled the list.

The second crop consists chiefly of rice, but about the same time tobacco is planted, and a little cotton sown; and there are several smaller and poorer sorts of grains, both oily and farinaceous, which are grown all over the hills about the end of summer and autumn.

The wheat is sown in the lower parts of the hills as soon as the snow has left the ground, or as the cold weather will admit. Further removed to the more inclement regions of the north, where the snow lies far longer, I believe that the grain is sown in the beginning of winter, previous to the time it falls.

About the latter end of April the crops were fit to cut in the vicinity of Jytock; and on the Sine range, and in the country hitherto passed through, they were not above ten days more backward.

To the northward there is a very great difference,

difference, the corn in some places not ripening till the end of July.

The opium is gathered from the poppy nearly about the same time; it grows easily and luxuriantly, but was found in larger quantities as we advanced into the interior: it is said to be an expensive crop, requiring much manure and great attention, whilst the produce is not always very sure. It is an article of considerable traffic with the plains, whither the chief part is carried by the petty merchants who come to the hills for trade.

The purslane alluded to is a singular and beautiful plant; the centre of the leaves spreading from the stalk is of a fine crimson colour, sometimes inclining to purple, and is covered with a crimson powder; the outer part of them is green, but the stalks and young shoots are chiefly red, and the whole has a singular and brilliant appearance. The leaves, while young, are used as greens; and the grain, the produce for which they plant it, and of which there are two sorts, is used, the one made into bread, the other eaten as rice to a curry. It is small, black, and shining, like the seeds of sorrel, to which the plant bears some resemblance, growing to the height of from three to four feet.

The smaller grains are of little importance, nor can I give any particular account of them.

The rice of the hills is said to be peculiarly fine. Particular situations only will answer for this description of cultivation, and more than ordinary care is taken to bring it to perfection. All those spots of land, which lie near the banks of streams and in the bottoms of valleys, are selected, where a great command of water may securely be relied on. The whole extent of the terrace is carefully levelled, and very well worked with the plough, for which purpose they lay each under water, and plough them in this state.

Both men and women engage in the labours of agriculture, but their departments are generally distinct. The men exclusively guide the plough and sow the corn; the women weed the fields, break the clods, &c. Both sexes reap the corn; but this is principally an employment allotted to the women, who use a small sickle, ruder than that employed in Europe, and bind it into small sheaves, which when the weather is fine, are left to dry on the field; but when it threatens rain they carry them

to places formed of large flat slabs of slate, surrounded by a small wall, on which they likewise tread out the corn by means of cattle: here the reflected heat of the sun soon dries it, and any water that falls, quickly running off, has less effect on the sheaves than when lying on the moist fields. When freed by treading from the stalk, the grain is stored in the second story of the house, and the straw is preserved in stacks or houses for the use of the cattle, and for their own beds.

The straw, however, is seldom in sufficient abundance to serve as fodder for their cattle during the winter months, especially in the more inclement parts of the mountains, and they supply the deficiency by collecting grass from the jungles, and where that is less plentiful, the fallen leaves of trees, particularly fir-trees, which serve as a substitute for fodder and for beds. A species of fir, resembling that known in England by the name of Weymouth pine, the leaves of which are long and of some consistency, is that preferred for this purpose; but many trees besides are made use of as a winter store for the cattle, of which they take much care.

MARRIAGE IN SIRMORE.

Their customs, with respect to marriage, and the general system with regard to their women, are very extraordinary. It is usual all over the country for the future husband to purchase his wife from her parents, and the sum thus paid varies of course with the rank of the purchaser. The customary charge to a common peasant or zemindar, is from ten to twenty rupees. The difficulty of raising this sum, and the alleged expense of maintaining women, may in part account for, if it cannot excuse, a most disgusting usage, which is universal over the country. Three or four or more brothers marry and cohabit with one woman, who is the wife of all: they are unable to raise the requisite sum individually, and thus club their shares, and buy this one common spouse.

If it be expensive to maintain the woman, the charge must lie somewhere; if a husband be not at the cost, the parents must, and burthens thus left upon a family, it may be supposed, would be gladly got rid of at all events. But I believe, that the women fully earn their own subsistence, for they are employed both in agricultural pursuits and in the more domestic labours, and thus cannot

cannot be considered as unprofitable charges. But if they were expensive, it is singular that the purchase money of a wife should keep up to a height beyond the general ability of the men to furnish.

Women are here articles of property, and it is against all experience in the mutual effects of demand and supply, that when the latter is more than sufficient, the price should keep so disproportionately high.

This reasoning, in conjunction with the facts from which it arises, would induce a suspicion, that the number of females was in reality not in proportion to that of the males; but to our inquiries on this subject, they did not admit that to be the case.

What then became of those who never married? This question was never satisfactorily solved. A few men they affirmed to possess four or five wives; but the number of these polygamists they allowed to be small, confined to lords of small states, the wuzzeers and nobles of the larger, and the head men of small villages.

They allowed too, though reluctantly, that some of their female children were disposed of as slaves, but wished to deny that they sold them to strangers. There is no doubt, however, that this practice does exist, and has long existed in the hills to a very considerable extent, not merely (as they would have us suppose) a transfer of their daughters as wives to the neighbouring inhabitants, but in regular sales to dealers, who again dispose of them in the low country. But unless the number thus disposed of was very large, it would be quite insufficient to account for the female balance that must remain in question. These, they say, remain in the house of their parents; and this assertion brings back the difficulty, how the parents are to maintain this heavy charge? And I cannot help suspecting that, notwithstanding the expense which they assert to attend the keep of a wife, she is on the whole a gaining concern, and, as a strong and useful hand in agricultural labour, is rather a source of wealth and property to her husband or husbands, than any positive loss.

After all, the true causes and reasons for this custom remain in doubt; and till further observation and more minute inquiry may throw some better light on the subject, we have only to believe one of two things; either that the number of females, from the operation of certain

causes, is small in proportion to that of the males, or that extremely obstinate attachments to old customs and habits, the effects of cogent circumstances, that have operated, and may still continue to operate, restrains in this instance the usual course of nature.

Should the labour of females be of actual profit to those with whom they live, instead of a loss and charge to them, it might partially account for a proportion of females remaining unmarried in the houses of their parents; but it cannot seem a full and satisfactory reason for this great restraint and reversing of the course of nature, in keeping so large a body of the sexes separate: nor can it at all, I think, be admitted as any solution of a custom that forms so singular and so unnatural a departure from the almost universal feelings and usages of mankind.

Be these things as they may, the custom has a deplorably injurious effect upon the morals of the females in this country, particularly in point of chastity. They do not see it valued, and of course do not preserve it. From the degree of community of intercourse prevailing by custom, the men do not feel shocked at an unlimited extension of it: thus the women are entirely at the service of such as will pay for their favours, without feeling the slightest sense of shame or crime in a practice from which they are not discouraged by early education, example, or even the dread of their lords, who only require a part of the profit.

THEIR RELIGION.

All the inhabitants of this region, as well as those near the plains, are Hindoos. Their features for the most part, although gradually altered by the climate, as we leave the low country, and also perhaps by country customs, and possibly by the remaining mixture of an ancient indigenous race, still retain traces that point to the chief original stock in the plains.

Their language, their religion, and the general tone of their customs and prejudices tend to confirm this. Their language for a considerable way into the hills is a corrupted dialect of true Hindostanee, in which Shanscrit and Hindoo words predominate; but the farther we penetrated to the north, the more corrupt it became, till it was so mixed with foreign tongues as to be unintelligible by a low countryman.

They worship the chief Hindoo deities,

ties, adore and protect the cow, and blindly follow and practise most of the rites of Hindoism; but they are Hindoos in a sorely degraded and truly ignorant state, mingling the wild superstition and blind adorations of that religion with the utmost grossness of character, and a total deficiency of acquaintance with even their legendary origin; and they adhere to the chief manners and customs of the Hindoos, only because they were adopted by their fathers before them; nor does there seem to be a Brahmin among them of more enlightened mind, or in any degree more intelligent than the rest.

In every village, and on each wayside, there are temples to different Hindoo divinities; some to Mahadeo, or Seeva, under innumerable names; some to Gonesh, others to Bhowannee, or to Calee; but there is an infinite variety of deities of their own, to whom they pay much adoration, and their temples are found on every hill, at every turn and remarkable place on the road. These are the *Genii Loci*, and their symbols and memorials are numerous and various; there is not a Teeba, or pinnacle of a hill, that is not topped with a heap of stones; a single pillar, or a small hut, to which the Paharee turns with mysterious solemnity, and prostrating himself, preys to the spirit of the place, and to every one of these are strange tales and curious legends attached.

Superstition of this sort seems peculiarly natural to highland countries; such are the witches, spectres, and ghosts of the Scotch highlands, and these of the Indian mountains make not less impression on their inhabitants: any person taking delight in such mysterious tales, and who could follow the jargon of this country, might here find ample gratification for his taste.

In a soil so rank with superstition, it may be inferred, that the priesthood flourish luxuriantly; and indeed they are found in abundance all over the country: not only does it abound with every religious order of Hindoo mendicant, but in every purgunnah, villages are met with inhabited entirely by Brahmins, and by Byragees, Gosseins, Sunyasses, Jogeas, &c., who either subsist on the superstitious charity of the public, or who, having abjured their vow of celibacy, have married and settled in the parts they liked best, according to their means.

When a community itself is poor,

those who subsist on its charity, or by its respect, cannot well become rich; even the Brahmins were not positively so; but the villages and houses inhabited by them were universally the most comfortable, and in the best situations.

I could not discover whether there were any peculiar ceremonies at their marriages, or what they might be; nor had we, in general, much opportunity for observing that they employed many on other occasions. Their ignorance probably precluded them from the knowledge of most of those belonging to the Hindoo religion, and their hard life and poverty from the practice of those with which they may be acquainted; but it is fair to believe, that those observances which may yet be among them are in the spirit of strict Hindooism.

They burn their dead, carrying them to the heights of hills, and commonly erect a pile of stones, or place a large stone on end, and plant sticks with rags on them, to mark the spot sacred to the memory of the deceased.

It is not very common for women to burn themselves with the body of their deceased husbands; but it does sometimes happen, in case of the death of persons of consequence. Thus, at the death of the late Rajah of Bischur, twenty-two persons of both sexes burnt themselves along with his body; of these, twelve were females, and three Ranees; one or two of his wuzzeers, and his first chobedar, were also among the number: even at the death of some of the hill soldiers near Nahn, their wives burnt themselves on their bodies.

RAMPORE.

Rampore, the capital of Bischur,* has far juster pretensions to the appellation of a town, than any of the miserable villages through which our route has led: it was once a flourishing place, and the entrepôt for the merchandize brought by the traders of Hindostan, and for the produce of Cachemire, Ludhak, Bootan, Kashgar, Yarcund, &c. In the days of its prosperity it may have contained three or four hundred houses, and a large bazar, well filled with the commodities of these various countries. For this commerce, the passage of the river Suttlej through the hills forms a convenient channel, and the road, which is now very difficult, might be much improved without incurring any extravagant expense. There is no ghat

* Lat. 31° 20' N. Long. 77° 18' E.
practicable

practicable for the conveyance of merchandise through the Himala range between that at Buddreenath, and this of Rampore; and doubtless it was this circumstance principally that gave to Rampore the importance it acquired, and made it to the westward, what Si-reenugger was to the eastward, a depot and mart for the products of the above-mentioned countries.

When the Sikhs were a more predatory race, wandering and unsettled, this route to the Trans-himalayan countries was much followed and prosecuted through the hills to Nahn, the Dhoor, and Hurdwar. Since the rise of that nation under Runjeet Sing, the roads from Ludhak, through Cooloo and Chumba, direct to Umrutsir, are in general use.

The city of Umrutsir is the chief and holy city of the Sikh territories, although Runjeet Sing chiefly resides at Lahore, which thus virtually becomes the capital. The other, however, is the ancient scene of the commencement of the Sikh sect, and of their glory, as well as of their persecutions and martyrdom, and is looked upon with great reverence by the nation.

Much was told us of the splendour of the late rajah and his court, and the opulence of the place in former times, till the struggle with the Ghoorkas first impoverished and distressed the country; and soon after the death of the rajah the finishing stroke was put to the destruction of the capital by the sudden and unexpected arrival of a Ghoorkha force, from which the young rajah, with his mother and attendants, barely escaped, flying to the recesses of Kunawur, and leaving the accumulated riches of the capital a prey to the conquerors. At this time, by far the greater proportion of the houses was in ruins, and the rest very thinly inhabited. The bazar, which formerly was a tolerable street, and where the remains of good shops and large houses may still be traced, at present contains only the booths of a few poor Bunyas, miserably supplied, and every thing bespeaks wretchedness and poverty. So little encouragement is there now for the traders of the low country to bring their goods hither, that the most common luxuries, the produce of the plains, are often not to be had. We could not procure sugar of any kind to recruit our stock, though so common and cheap in its various shapes in the neighbouring districts of Hindostan.

Rampore (for what reason I know not) is a place of considerable sanctity. It possesses several temples for Hindoo worship, of tolerable construction, viz. one to Maha Deo, to Nersing, to Gonesh, to Hoonoomaun, and smaller ones to inferior deities. That to Nersing has been lately erected, and is neat, though not large. To officiate at these shrines there are a sufficiency of Brahmins, and a host of byragees, gosseins, sunyasseas, and other descriptions of fuqeers and mendicants; indeed, they are the only people who seem to have escaped the desolation, and yet inhabit the place. The houses of the priesthood were neat and comfortable, and their persons and circumstances were apparently thriving.

There are two royal residences in Rampore: one appears to be far more ancient than the other, and was lately occupied by the dowager Rane, with her family and court. It is built on a rock overhanging the river, somewhat as a strong hold; but in the interior is like most other hill-chieftain's houses, containing a square court, around the interior of which small apartments are ranged in the Hindostanee fashion, chiefly open to the court, except those intended for the women, which are closed by screens of wood, finely cut into flowers and various figures, so as partially to admit the light without exposing those who are within: in the centre of the court there is a holy pagoda. The second palace is a more modern structure, and though considerably more elegant and better built and finished than the other, it does not depart much from the usual style in the interior dispositions. It stands at the north side of an inclosure that extends about 150 yards along the highest stage or terrace of the projection, on which the town is built, and though not more than half that breadth, stretches quite to the foot of the lofty precipice that frowns over the place. The terrace itself overlooks the whole town and the river which flows around it. The building is a square, the front of which, looking to the southward, is very highly ornamented with rich carved work in wood; in the centre, above the entrance, projects a small balcony, in which the rajah sat and showed himself to the people; the other three sides are rather plain, and with their slated penthouse roofs, which do not project far above the walls, bear a great resemblance to those parts of a common English house which are least exposed

exposed to public view. There are no towers at the corners of this square, as in most other hill castles, nor much to give it a resemblance to the usual fashion of the country: from the left or east side of the front a projection runs out of three stories; the two lower are open in front, exposing the interior; the uppermost is shut in with carved wooden screens of trellis-work, and the whole front of this projection is most richly ornamented in a similar manner. This wing was chiefly appropriated to the use of the Zenana. On the opposite side, also projecting forwards, was placed the summer house in which we took up our quarters; and this, though small, was exceedingly neat and well ornamented. Another small building in the same line, I believe a shrine to some deity, projected to a length that corresponded with the extent of the left hand wing. The space between those two rows of building in front of the main body of the palace is paved as a court.

There are no other buildings in Rampore that have the least title to notice. The houses of the wuzzeers are mostly in ruins; and, as before observed, the houses of the Brahmins and religious castes alone preserve even the appearance of comfort.

BISCHUR.

The Rajahship or province of Bischur was formerly confined to the valley through which the Sutlej flows, from the line where it bounds with the Chinese territories beyond the Himala range, to a point not far from the town of Rampore. A series of subsequent encroachments and conquests has increased it to the extent it now occupies. To the southward, the valley of Nawur and district of Teekur form the extreme of its possessions, and the numerous petty states of Joobul, Cotegooroo, Bulsum, Kurangooloo, Comharsein, &c. bound it in a very irregular line. On the north-west the Sutlej confines it, till, at a point between Rampore and Seran, it crosses that river, and bounding with Cooloo in Kundrar Nullah (a deep dell that runs directly down from the snowy ridge,) it assumes nearly a northerly course, and crossing the Himala range joins the Chinese territories, probably in a very undefined line; for, both while contiguous with Cooloo through the bare rock and snow of the highest mountains, and also in the barren tract immediately beyond them, the country is too inhospitable to form ground of much dispute.

To the north and north-east, those countries under the Chinese sway continue to confine Bischur, till it is met by Gurwhal, with which province it recrosses the snowy range in a similarly indefinite line; but in a south-westerly direction, and dividing the districts between the Pabur and Touse, the boundary falls upon the former river, which here runs to the south-eastward about eight miles below Raeengudh, leaving to Bischur the whole bed and rich valley of the Pabur. The short remaining line on the south-west from the end of that range of hills which divides the Nawur and Deyrah valleys downwards, is marked by the course of this river.

In its present state, the country of Bischur may be divided into districts nearly as follows: first, Kunawur; secondly, that tract which, including Rampore and Seran, extends down the valley of the Sutlej, with the smaller glens and ravines that drain into it; thirdly, the valley of the Pabur, with all that lies on its left bank, and including Sambracote and the other smaller ones that debouche from the moral ridge and snowy hills into that river; lastly, the Nawur and Teekur valleys, with all the intervening tracts between it and the Sambracote valley, where the river takes its decided turn to the south-east.

Kunawur is that part of Bischur which embraces all the northern, north-eastern and eastern tracts, and lies entirely in and behind the snowy hills, chiefly comprised in the glen of the Sutlej, and running through and beyond these mountains, cutting them in a line, diverging not far from east and west; the Himala range here taking a direction from north-west and south-east to west-north-west and south-south-east, while the river runs through in a nearly similar course. On the west, all that barren tract which bounds with Cooloo, and sends its waters to the Sutlej, is included in Kunawur, as also is the whole tract between that river and the head of the Pabur, to the eastward and south-eastward, where it is met by the districts of Rewaen in Gurwhal, called Futteh Purbut and Pauch Purbot, from which places passes lead into Kunawur.

From this description of its situation, it will be inferred, that it is inhospitable and bleak in climate, barren and unproductive in soil: in fact, it is a mass of rocks and wild chasms, which only drain

drain the waters as they melt from the peaks that frown above them, covered with eternal snow. Nevertheless it is inhabited, though thinly in proportion to its extent; and the greatest strength of Bischur lies in the wild passes and hardy population of Kunawur. It produces but little grain, and the inhabitants supply themselves from more fertile districts, exchanging with those of the Pabur valley and others the productions of their country, viz. salt, wool, woollen cloths, dried grapes and currants, and the seeds from the cones of a peculiar species of fir, which are sweet like almonds, and various other things for corn of all kinds.

Besides the above divisions which compose the rajahship of Bischur, there are many small states which are dependent on, and, in time of need, aid it with their troops, besides paying an annual tribute for protection. Most of these have been noticed before in the course of our journey. They are as follow, viz. Dilt, on the banks of the Sutlej, in which is situate the fortress of Mustgurh; Kurangooloo, in which are the forts of Whartoo and Kurana; Coomharsein, above the left bank of the Sutlej, containing Sircote with other forts; Kuneountee; Cotegooroo, in which is Jodhpoor fort; Bhuroulee, a very pretty place; Bulsum, which has Chourna fort, where resides the T,hakoor or Rana; Theog, a small state, the T,hakoor of which lives in the castle of Theog; and Dodur Coar, which comprises only two villages.

Their inhabitants lie, equally with those of Nawur, under the stigma of abandoned villainy, and total want of good principles, and, it is believed, but too justly so. They are generally unpleasing in appearance, mean, groveling, cowardly and cruel. It would seem as if the faint approaches they have made towards civilization had only awakened the evil passions and propensities of the mind, which yet remain quite untroubled by the ignorance of the restraints of religion and virtue. They do not possess the almost admirable qualities that are attributed to the wild, stern native of North America, or the mild inoffensive submission of the southern savage. They have lost whatever native virtue may have existed in the savage state, and have not acquired that which would probably result from a happy, free, and liberal intercourse with civilized beings.

Bischur is governed by a rajah, whose office is hereditary; and it appears, that under him the different districts have always been regulated by hereditary chiefs, who have assumed the titles of wuzzeer, and exercise each their separate authority. They assess and collect the revenue, and settle minor disputes; but the rajah has always been lord paramount, and looked up to with perfect submission.

It is probable indeed, that, in the former reigns, (and certainly in the late rajah's time,) the wuzzeers were by no means so powerful as they are at present in the reign of the child his son; but the troublesome times, and the infancy of the heir to the throne, have necessarily thrown into the hands of these men all the executive, and, in fact, all the real power.

Bischur can boast of but few natural productions of much value, and these have been already noticed, viz. sheep and wool, cattle and ghee, iron, and corn of various sorts. The finer grains are wheat, barley, and rice, with a multitude of smaller grains; tobacco and opium in small quantities, musk, &c.; of fruits, apples, indifferent pears, apricots and peaches, wild grapes, which they preserve for use, as well as a small currant prepared in Kunawar, whence also come the eatable seeds of a fir-cone. Turnips, onions and garlic of inferior quality, and a peculiar sort of carrot, with several other useful herbs, grow wild in the mountains.

Their agriculture is similar to that which is common throughout the hills. The wheat and barley commonly occupied the less rugged faces of the hills, as the rice does the low lands by the sides of rivers and rivulets; and where these will not readily grow, the less valuable grains will often yield a saving crop.

From the grapes they procure two sorts of strong liquor; the one they call *sihee*, which is the first juice they yield, and I believe it is fermented in the common way, and only used by the first classes, such as the wuzzeers and nobles; the other is prepared by pouring hot water on the residue of the fruit, but I know not whether it undergoes any sort of distillation. The musk is procured in small quantities from a species of deer to be noticed hereafter.

Iron has already been noticed, and is produced in various parts of the country. Lead also is generally found. It is likewise probable that copper exists in some

some parts of this state, and several other sources of hidden wealth may lie concealed in these rude tracts; but the industry or ingenuity of this people has never been awakened by demand or inquiry.

The chief and almost only manufacture of Bischur consists in the fabrication of woollen cloths of several sorts, and in this they excel the inhabitants of all the countries between the Sutlej and Alaknunda. The wool produced here is of a superior quality, and they import from Bootan a quantity of still better.

From this they weave blankets of different sizes and fineness: woollen cloth for trowsers, chiefly black; fine webs for cummerbunds, and for throwing around their shoulders in the fashion of a Scotch plaid; a sort of well napped cloth, called by them seek-cloth, which is used for their coats and dress, and the black bonnets which they wear on their heads. The fabric of many of these cloths is remarkably good. The blankets are of the twilled sort, close and fine; and the seek-cloth is nearly equal to our finest English blankets. It is curious to find this word seek-cloth, which is a Persian term for broad cloth of any sort, used in so remote a region. The word, I understand, is prevalent in the above sense all over the East, and it would argue that the manufacture was of recent date, probably an imitation of cloth imported with its name from the Caubul territories, as so exact a similitude in the terms used in naming two articles of the same nature in two countries, whose language have no resemblance, can scarcely be presumed to have occurred otherwise. They also manufacture a small quantity of shawl-wool, imported from Bootan, into pieces resembling the coarse shawls called D,hoossas. Sometimes they mix it with sheep's wool, thus giving it more substance but less fineness. These cloths have no great beauty, but the texture, twilled like the shawls, seems to indicate that the people with proper encouragement would in all likelihood produce an useful and perhaps a fine manufacture from this material.

CASHMERE SHAWLS.

The author may, however, be permitted to advert loosely to one object, viz. the shawl-wool trade, which is now monopolised by Cashmere. A new channel opening to a profitable market would not, it is believed, fail to direct a portion at least of this trade to Hindostan;

while, when the skill of our weavers is known, it is not to be supposed that they would fall far short of the perfection to which the Cashmerian artisans have arrived. It is well known that this trade is by far the most profitable which that small state enjoys; indeed it is almost that alone which enriches its people, while government derive a principal share of their revenue from the duties on their sale. It seems at least well worth while to encourage the trade to divert a share of this source of wealth into our own hands.

To our enquiries as to the possibility of procuring any quantity of shawl-wool through the pass at present, it was answered, that a few hundred maunds might be procured, but that if any large quantity was required, it would be necessary to make some reference to the Chinese authorities at Gar,ha, or the towns where it is chiefly sold. This would not appear to be a matter of much difficulty to obtain, as from certain late occurrences it is to be presumed that the officers are rather well disposed towards Europeans; and it may be believed that any offer of competition which would raise the price, if not indiscreetly pushed, would be listened to, particularly if accompanied with some profit to the authority permitting the trade; and the distance from the seat of empire makes the officers on the frontiers too independent to render it possible that any interference would take place from the court of Peking to the prejudice of an agreement so made.

THE HIMALAYAN MOUNTAINS.

The great Himalayan snowy range is only the highly elevated crest of the mountainous tract that divides the plains of Hindostan from those of Thibet, or lesser Tartary. Far as they predominate over, and precipitously as they rear themselves above the rest, all the hills that appear in distinct ranges, when viewed from the plains, are indeed only the roots and branches of this great stem; and, however difficult to trace, the connexion can always be detected between each inferior mountain and some particular member of its great origin. At times, indeed, this connexion seems nearly broken; and a lofty peak, rearing itself, as if in rivalry, presents a very extensive ramification of lesser ridges, separating ravines which extend down to the great drains of the country, and thus becomes, as it were, the nucleus of a subordinate district; from the lofty height

height of which, the country between it and the principal chain seems comparatively low, though very rugged; and in this hollow generally lies some river, with its subsidiary streams, which drain a large portion of the snow that annually melts from their sides. All the regularity of ranges which deceive the eye, in viewing this mountainous belt from the distant plains, thus vanishes on entering the country; and the whole becomes a confused and chaotic assemblage of most rugged mountains, huddled into masses and peaks, and running into ridges which defy arrangement; and it is only by attentive observation that they can be traced to one or other of the mighty piles that compose the snowy range.

The horizontal depth of this mountainous tract, on that side which overlooks Hindostan, is no doubt various; but, from the difficulty of the country, a traveller performs a journey of many days before he reaches the foot of the immediate snowy cliffs. The best observations and survey do not authorise the allowance of more than an average depth of about sixty miles from the plains to the commencement of these, in that part of the country that forms the subject of this narrative. The breadth of the snowy zone itself in all probability varies still more; for huge masses advance in some places into the lower districts, and in others the crest recedes in long ravines, that are the beds of torrents, while behind they are closed by a succession of the loftier cliffs. Every account we receive of a passage through them (and this is no doubt found most commonly where the belt is narrowest) gives a detail of many days' journey through deserts of snow and rocks; and it is to be inferred, that on the north-east side they advance to, and retreat from the low ground in an equally irregular manner. Indeed, some accounts would induce the belief, that long ranges, crowned with snow-clad peaks, project in various places from the great spine, and include habitable and milder districts; for, in all the routes of which we have accounts, that proceed in various directions towards the Trans-Himalayan countries, hills covered with snow are occasionally mentioned as occurring, even after the great deserts are passed, and the grazing country entered. The breadth, then, of this crest of snow-clad rock itself cannot fairly be estimated at less than from seventy to eighty miles.

Of the distance to which the hilly country extends beyond the snowy crest we must judge chiefly by inference, assisted by the limited information we can obtain from the routes held through it by natives, which must always be taken with very great allowance, even where there seems to be no inducement to deceive. The only European travellers who are known to have entered on this new ground are Messrs. Moorcroft and Hearsey, who penetrated by the Nitee-Mana pass, and reached the lake of Mantullae, Mansrowar, or Mepang. All these sources lead us to presume a pretty extensive detail of hills beyond the loftiest belt, that by no means terminate even at Gara or Gartope, though they do not reach the height of those to the westward and southward. A branch of the Cailas range, undoubtedly a ramification of the Himala, stretches out beyond the lake Mansrowar, a considerable way towards Gartope. Beyond this point there seem at present to exist no grounds, on which even a conjecture may be formed concerning the nature of the country. The general character of the hills on the north-east side of the Himala, if we judge from information, seems somewhat less rugged and inhospitable than those on the south-western face. The route subsequently detailed will show that the valleys there are more even, the roads less difficult, and the hills less abrupt and rocky than the latter exposure exhibits; and this seems to harmonize with the rule generally observed in the primary formation of this tract, that the western, north-western, and south-western exposures are uniformly the most rugged and precipitous; while those to the south-eastward and north-eastward are ever the roundest and most accessible. It seems that all the north-eastern hills are much tinged with red soil. Is there any analogy or connexion between this colour of the soil and the gold, which is found in considerable quantities in these districts, particularly in the bed of its rivers?

The great snowy belt, although its loftiest crest is broken into numberless cliffs and ravines, nevertheless presents a barrier perfectly impracticable, except in those places where hollows that become the beds of rivers have in some degree intersected it, and facilitated approach to its more remote recesses; and courageous and attentive perseverance has

has here and there, discovered a dangerous and difficult path, by which a possibility exists of penetrating across the range. Few rivers hold their course wholly through it: indeed, in the upper part in the Sutlej alone has been traced beyond this rocky barrier; and there is a path along its stream, from different parts of which roads diverge, that lead in various directions through the mountains. No reasonable doubt can now exist of the very long and extraordinary course which this river takes: the routes given below will trace it particularly nearly to its origin. Several other passes through the Himala exist to the south-eastward; but I am unacquainted with all of them beyond Kumaoon, between which and that of the Sutlej, the passes of Joar, Darma, Nitteemana, Lamanittee, Gurooneetee, and Birjee, are found practicable for the conveyance of goods, and all cut the range in a direction little varying from west to east, which coincides with that in which the hills are divided by nature, by the ravines through which the principal drains have their course, and in which most of the great masses that jut down from the snowy crest towards the plains send their continuous ridges, showing an intimate connexion with the great primary formation of the country, and the peculiarities of its chief features.

Cashmere appears to be the true limit of the Himala range. Beyond the point where the mountainous chain is cut by the Attock, and, indeed, even to the south-eastward of it, according to every account I have heard, the mountains decline in altitude, and the hilly country spreads out on both sides to a less circumscribed space.

LUDHAK.

The state that attracts the chief attention is undoubtedly Ludhak: its territorial extent seems to be considerable, and our information leads to the belief that it possesses a good deal of importance from its political and commercial relations with the Chinese government at Gara, and the territories of the Lamas, and with Cashmere, as well as from its own internal resources and valuable exports. It is bounded, to the best of our information, on the west by Cashmere and its dependencies, on the south-westward and southward by Chumbee, Cooloo, and Bischur, which also circumscribes it on the south-eastward. The districts under Chinese sway, of which Gara and Tuling form two of the chief

stations, lie to the eastward and north-eastward; perhaps it is not far removed in these quarters from the country recognised as Yarkund. Many small states have, doubtless, had existence between these just mentioned; but they seem chiefly to have been absorbed into the large ones, and are now at least of no consequence: we were given to understand, that Ludhak was in some degree tributary both to China and to Cashmere.

Ludhak itself is, probably, chiefly a grazing country, and supplies much shawl wool, though the principal mart for this is at Gara. The routes through its territories describe chiefly rugged mountains topped with snow, projections certainly from the Himala range, and lower hills of reddish soil, covered with short grass, representing a country fit for sheep; but little is said of cultivation until we are brought to the valley of the Singkechoo, which seems to be the rich district of the country. This is full of cultivation and villages; here also is placed the capital of the country, Leh, or Ludhak.

This town, our accounts inform us, is situated on the north or right bank of the river, but about two cos distant from it, and is watered by a rivulet, which here empties itself into its bed. From the village of Humeo to Leh, a distance, it is said, of sixteen or seventeen cos, we are told that the valley widens much, and is from two to four cos broad, very richly cultivated with wheat, barley, and oe, or rye, and thickly studded with villages; the road along the river excellent, broad, and planted on each side with chiloomah-trees: and this prosperous state continues for a considerable distance below upon the river's banks. The town itself once contained about 1000 good houses, but report states it to have fallen off, and it is now reduced to about 700. These generally consist of several stories, the lower story built by uniting two thin walls of stone filled with mud between them; the upper is entirely formed of the latter material, as is the roof, which is flat, forming a terrace: they are said to be well constructed. There are well stocked bazars, and several shops (twelve or thirteen) kept by the Cashmerian Mussulmauns, but no Hindoo bunyas, or shopkeepers: flour, ghee, grain, flesh, and all articles of consumption are sold in the market by the people from the country, who bring them to town. The palace of the rajah is at Leh;

Leh; we are told that his title among the people of the country is "gealbo," which is equivalent to rajah. His name is Neena Mungreal. I believe his religion is that of the Lamas; but an universal spirit of toleration seems to prevail under his sway, for all persuasions find protection there, Hindoos, Mussulmauns, Lamas, and Chinese.

HEIGHT OF THE HIMALA.

Mr. Colebrooke, late President of the Asiatic Society, in his Memoir "On the Height of the Himala Mountains, contained in the twelfth volume of the Asiatic Researches, gives a list of the measurements of a number of peaks in different parts of the range, estimated from data there set forth; but chiefly from the observations of Captain Webb of the Bengal establishment, who has of late been employed on a survey of the province of Kumaon.

On the 21st day of June, Captain Webb's camp was 11,680 feet above Calcutta. The surface was covered with very rich vegetation as high as the knee: very extensive beds of strawberries in full flower; and plenty of currant-bushes in blossom all around, in a clear spot of rich black mould soil, surrounded by a noble forest of pine, oak, and rhododendron. On the 22d of June he reached the top of Pilgoenta-Churhaee, (or ascent,) 12,642 feet above Calcutta. He was prevented from distinguishing very distant objects by a dense fog around him; but there was not the smallest patch of snow near him, and the surface a fat black mould through which the rock peeped, was covered with strawberry plants (not yet in flower), butter-cups, dandelion, and a profusion of other flowers. The shoulders of the hill above him, about 450 feet more elevated, were covered with the same to the top; and about 500 feet below was a forest of pine, rhododendron, and birch. There was some snow seen below in deep hollows, but it dissolves in the course of the season. He was informed by the goat-herds that they carried their flocks to pasture in July and August, to a ridge to the eastward, rising above Pilgoenta as far as it does above the site of his camp of the 21st of June, or at least 13,000 feet above Calcutta. But of this, Captain Webb purposed to have ocular demonstration.

These facts lead Captain Webb to infer, that the inferior limit of perpetual congelation on the Himala mountains is *beyond* 13,500 feet, at least, above the

level of Calcutta: and that the level of the table land of Tartary, immediately bordering on the Himala, is very far elevated beyond 8000 feet, the height at which it is estimated by the reviewer.

Of this detail of facts, given thus publicly by a scientific man of character and known accuracy, who thus, in some measure, stakes his credit on them, there can be no reason, *a priori*, to doubt the correctness: and though, in applying them to the observations made in my own journey, I may not be able either to make all the deductions which they will afford, or to shun any errors that they may involve, they will still, I think, yield some ground of inference to estimate the height to which I ascended; and consequently, give some approximation to the heights of the surrounding peaks.

On the night of the 16th July we slept at Bheemkeudar, near the source of the Coonoo and Bheem streams. There is no wood near this place, even in the very bottom of the valley, and we had left even the stunted birch at a considerable distance below: but there was a profusion of flowers, ferns, thistles, &c. and luxuriant pasturage. Captain Webb's limit of wood is at least as high as 12,000 to 12,300 feet. I would, therefore, presume the site of Bheemkeudar to be considerably above that level; say 13,000 to 13,300 feet above the level of Calcutta. From thence we ascended at first rather gradually, and then very rapidly, till we left all luxuriant vegetation, and entered the region of striped and scattered and partially melting snow, (for nearly two miles of the perambulator.) From calculating the distance passed, and adverting to the elevation we had attained, I would presume that this was at least 1500 feet above Bheemkeudar, or from 14,500 to 15,000 feet above Calcutta.

We proceeded onwards, ascending very rapidly, while vegetation decreased gradually to a mere green moss, with here and there a few snow-flowers starting through it; snow fast increasing, till at length we entered on what I presume was the perennial and unmelting snow, entirely beyond the line of vegetation, where the rock was bare even of lichens: and in this we ascended, as I think, about 800 feet; for, though Bamsooroo Ghat may not be so far above this line, we continued ascending, even after crossing that point, and I would incline to estimate this utmost extent of ascent

ascent at 2000 feet more, or nearly 17,000 feet above the level of Calcutta.

Whilst proposing to consider the point of 16,000 to 16,500 feet as that of inferior congelation, I must observe, that there was no feeling of *frost* in the air, and the snow was moist, though hard, chiefly through the influence of a thick mist, which, in fact, amounted to a very small drizzling rain, which fell around: all which would seem to indicate, that the true line of congelation had not there been attained; but we were surrounded by snow which evidently never melted. To a great depth below it extended all over the hills, very little broken, while, on the valleys from whence the Coonoo and Bheem streams issue, at full 2000 feet below, it lay covering them and the surrounding mountains, in an unbroken mass many hundred feet thick. Thus, though it may seem contradictory, the line of perpetual congelation, in fact, seems fixable at even below the point I have ventured to indicate; and, I presume, might on these grounds, be placed somewhere between 15 and 16,000 feet above the level of Calcutta.

The result of all the considerations that arise out of the foregoing remarks is a belief, that the loftiest peaks of the Himala range will be found to fall considerably short of the height attributed to them by Mr. Colebrooke.

From the valuable and interesting labours of the above named gentlemen, Captain Webb and Hodson, we may at no distant period hope for a near approximation to the truth; and till then there seems little danger of falling into great error in believing, that the loftiest peaks of the Himala mountains range from 18,000 to 22 or 23,000 feet above the level of the sea.

THE BHOTEAS.

The word Bootan, or the country of the Bhoteas, as well as the appellation Bhotea, is used in a very indefinite manner by all the inhabitants of the hills, even by those best informed; and instead of being applied to the circumscribed country which we know as Bootan, it signifies, generally, all the country lying behind the crest of the Himala that professes the Lama faith. Not only those who are directly under the Chinese government, but those of the petty hill rajahs who exercise their own authority, either independently or as feudatories to China, are known by the sweeping term Bhoteas.

The great Lama at Lhassa is the deity they adore, and the priests of their religion are termed Lamas, and are distributed in abundance about the country: they are distinguished into two classes, those who marry, and those who make a vow of celibacy. They make a study of the books that contain the principles and tenets of the Lama faith. They perform the ceremonies of marriage, and bury the dead; and, it appears, are regarded, as the priesthood is in all countries, with much reverence.

Marriages seem here, as in many other places, more contracts of convenience, and matters of mere bargain and sale, than the result of a preference founded on affection or esteem. The fathers of the parties propose and conclude the bargain. He who has a marriageable daughter to dispose of, goes and seeks for a husband of his own choice, and, having found him, agrees with his father for the match, and gives a sum of money, according to his means, to bind the contract. After a time, which seems to have no particular limit, and perhaps has reference to the age of the parties, as well as to circumstances, the father of the boy, with the bridegroom himself, and from ten to twenty friends, according to an invitation that comes from the father of the lady, proceed to her house, and stay a night, when the ceremony is performed by the Lamas. This visit never exceeds one night, on the morning after which, the bridegroom and party carrying the bride, her father and a party of his friends, double in number those who were entertained at his house, proceed to the house of the bridegroom, and there also remain one night only, and leave the couple to themselves. They return alone, after eight or ten days, to her father's house for a short time, and then remove entirely to her husband's house. No women accompany the bride to the house of her husband, except one as an attendant: but the women of the village are entertained as well as the men, and all the expense falls on the bridegroom, as do the expenses of feeding and travelling from one house to the other of the whole party. We could not obtain any description of the marriage ceremony itself. Marriages take place at all ages after twelve, and generally between that and twenty.

The Bhoteas, like other Paharias, are very superstitious. Each hill, cave, mountain, or inaccessible place; each gloomy

gloomy dangerous spot is tenanted, in their belief, by spirits and beings of supernatural orders. Every village has its particular demon, to whom they pay a respect wrung from them by fear. Spirits, ghosts, and other bugbears, are as commonly dreaded as in the most superstitious countries.

The Bhoteas eat all manner of flesh; they kill and feed on the yak and cows, but in the district belonging to Bischur, the rajah (a Hindoo,) once put a man to death for killing one of these animals, since which the practice in that part has been discontinued. Of the milk of these cattle they much use; they make ghee, or clarified butter, and afterwards boil the residue to separate the whey from the cheese, which is pressed and kept.

Tea is much used; it is their best refreshment; and before commencing, as well as after completing a fatiguing journey, they regale on it. Although they have a kind of spirituous liquor, and several substitutes for this stimulus, tea is used in preference by all who can afford it, and to as great an extent as their means will allow. They mix it with ghee, salt, and milk, using no sugar. Salt, they say, makes it give out its flavour, and I believe they often eat leaves and all made thick together. We had some made up this way, but whether it was the original bad quality of the tea, or the other ingredients and cookery, the composition was by no means good.

The dress of the Bhoteas may be partly conceived from the sketch which is given of two seen at Gungotree—actual portraits. A long loose gown of woollen, loose woollen trowsers gathered together tight below the knee, and those who can afford it wear a sort of boot, and a cap on the head; the cap indeed is the national dress. They particularly affect red clothes, and their gown or dress is often seen of a faded crimson. Their houses are formed of bricks baked in the sun, with flat roofs. Pitched roofs of slate or shingles are not used; and, in fact, a considerable portion of the population live in tents, being a pastoral people, often changing abode. Those who can afford it use cooking utensils of brass and copper, but wooden and earthen platters are most common.

DISEASES.

We had not much opportunity for observation relative to the diseases prevalent among the people of the hills. Fevers and pleurisies occasionally attack them, and those ailments more peculiar

to a mountainous country, where sudden variations of temperature are common. Some of those diseases which afflict them are more obvious and apparent. Most persons, after ascending a height, and frequently without such exertions, were distressed by a severe cough, which had every symptom of being chronic, and the effect of climate and mode of life. But the most remarkable complaint was that glandular swelling of the throat, the goitre, which was extremely prevalent. It might be too much to say that every second person we saw was thus diseased; but the sufferers were certainly very numerous. No new or plausible cause was assigned, in the course of our enquiries, for this singular ailment: the attributing it to snow water does not seem at all sufficient, as many are afflicted who are scarcely placed within the reach of such an agent. The natives say that it is hereditary; and I believe there can be little doubt of the fact; for the disease may be traced in infants of very tender age, as we had, more than once, reason to observe. We understood that it was sometimes cured, when early means were taken; and these are said to consist in extirpation of the part by the knife. We saw some persons who had the scars on their throat, resulting from this mode of cure, which had in these instances been completely successful.

We several times saw people with swellings of very great size, which rendered them most uncouth and shocking objects; and, when this occurred in women, it was doubly disgusting. We did not discover any persons practising medicine, or pretending to that art; although some such must exist, as is proved by the operations performed on the neck—too nice an attempt to be made by any but those who have had at least some degree of experience or teaching.

It is probable that the knowledge of these people in medicine is confined to the application of a few simples, which every old person acquires in the course of life. Wounds and hurts of all kinds are cured in the simplest manner, assisted by the natural low habit of body of the people in general, which resembles that of all Hindostan. They recover from the severest wounds with hardly any attention, dressing them with turmeric and a few simple ingredients formed into a poultice, which promotes a gentle healing suppuration. In habits which

which seldom tend towards fever, it is a mockery of art to see how even loss of limbs, lopped off in the most summary way and most savage manner, are cured by this simple process, while the patient hardly seems to suffer.

BEES.

There were in this village a great number of hives of bees: these insects are much attended to all through the hills, and their honey forms a favourite article of diet, as well as of extensive and ready sale. The mode they adopt of keeping them, and of obtaining their honey without destroying the bees, merits a description. A hollow tree, or sometimes an earthen pot, is built into the wall with apertures externally, by which the bees enter and go out. There is a valve in the centre; and the internal end of the hive which opens within the house, can be closed or opened at pleasure by various contrivances, as a door or a clay bottom. When the combs are full, and they wish to take the honey, they merely make a considerable noise at the internal extremity of the hive, which drives out the insects: they then close the valve, open the interior, and take the honey unmolested. They then close all up again; the bees return to their rifled hive, and recommence the labour of replenishing it. The honey, when fresh, is very fine. There is no want of food of the most various and luxuriant sorts, all over the hills. The bee appears to be the very same insect as those which we domesticate in Europe.

SUPERSTITIONS.

Gungotree, the source of the most sacred branch of the Ganges, ought to hold and does bear the first rank among the holy places. Here all is mythological if not holy ground. Here Mahadeo sits enthroned in clouds and mist amid rocks that defy the approach of living thing, and snows that make desolation more awful. Gods, goddesses, and saints here continually adore him at mysterious distance, and you traverse their familiar haunts. But, although Gungotree be the most sacred, it is not the most frequented shrine, access to it being far more difficult than to Buddrinauth; and consequently to this latter, pilgrims flock in crowds, appalled at the remoteness and danger of the former place of worship. This may pretty fully account for the superior riches and splendour of Buddrinauth. Here are temples of considerable extent, priests and officials in abundance, who preserve an imposing

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exterior, and an appearance venerable from power and comparative magnificence, and consequently procure rich and ample offerings to keep up their comfortable dignity.

"The town and temple of Bhadri-Nath, are situate (says Messrs. Webb, &c.) on the west bank of the Alacknunda, in the centre of a valley of about four miles long, and one mile in its greatest breadth. The east bank rises considerably higher than the west bank, and is on a level with the top of the temple. The position of the sanctuary is considered equi-distant from two lofty mountains, which are designated by the names of the Nar and the Náráyena Purvatas*. The former is to the east, the latter to the west, and completely covered with snow from the summit to the base.

"The town is built on the sloping bank of the river, and contains only twenty or thirty huts for the accommodation of the Brahmins, and other attendants of the deity. In the centre is a flight of steps leading from the water's edge to the temple, which occupies the upper part of the town. The structure and appearance of this edifice are by no means answerable to the expectations that might be formed of a place of such reputed sanctity, and for the support of which large sums are annually received, independent of the land revenues appropriated for its maintenance. It is built in the form of a cone, with a small cupola, surmounted by a square shelving roof of plates of copper, over which is a golden ball and spire. The height of the building is not above forty or fifty feet; but its advantageous position on the top of the bank renders it the most conspicuous object in the valley.

"The æra of its foundation is too remote to have reached us, even by tradition; but it is considered as the work of some superior being. This specimen, however, of divine architecture was too weak to resist the shock of the earthquake, which left it in so tottering a condition that human efforts were judged expedient to preserve it from ruin; and the repairs which it has lately undergone have completely modernized its external appearance.

"As we descended the steps, the arrival of the Rauhil was announced. We met him near the Taptacund, where a cloth was spread for us, and a small

* From purbot, a mountain.

carpet of flowered China silk for the pontiff. He was preceded by three or four hirearrahs and chobdars, with the silver emblems of their office: behind him was a man bearing a chauri of peacocks' feathers; and in his suite were the chief officiating priests of the temple. He was dressed in a quilted vest of green satin, with a white shawl eummerbund. On his head he wore a red turban, and on his feet a pair of party coloured socks. His ears were ornamented with a couple of large golden rings, to each of which was suspended a very handsome pearl of considerable size. His neck was decorated with a triple string of small pearls; and round his arms he wore bracelets, composed of precious stones. On most of his fingers were golden rings, studded with sparkling gems.

"After the usual salutations, a short conversation passed for about a quarter of an hour, when he signified his readiness to conduct us to the sanctuary. On our arrival at the outward portico, we were requested to take off our shoes; and having done so, we ascended five or six steps, and passed through a small door, which brought us to the area of the temple. About twenty feet beyond was a vestibule, raised about a foot and a half from the terrace, and divided into two apartments, the inner one a little more elevated, and adjoining to the sanctuary. In the outer room two or three bells were suspended from the roof, for the use of the religious visitants, who are not permitted to go beyond it. We were not allowed to advance so far; but taking our stand immediately in front of the image, a few paces from the outer threshold, we had a perspective view of the sacred repository.

"The principal idol, Bhadri-nath, was placed opposite the door, at the farther extremity: above his head was a small looking-glass, which reflected the objects from the outside: in front of him were two or three lamps (which were all the light the apartment received, excepting from the door,) diffusing such feeble glimmering rays, that nothing was clearly distinguished. "He was dressed in a suit of gold and silver brocade. Below him was a table, or board, covered with the same kind of cloth; which, glittering through the gloom, might impress the beholder with the idea of splendor and magnificence; but an impartial observer might suppose it one of those de-

ceptions of priestcraft which are so successfully practised on the Hindu.

"To the right of him are the images of Udd'hara, Nar, and Narayena; to the left Cuwera and Nareda, with whom we were only nominally acquainted; for to us they were veiled, as ministers of perfect darkness.

"The temple of Bhadri-nath has more beneficed lands attached to it than any sacred Hindu establishment in this part of India. It is said to possess 700 villages in different parts of Gurwhal and Kumaon: many of them have been conferred by the government; others have been given in pledge for loans; and some few, purchased by individuals, have been presented as religious offerings.

"The territorial revenue forms, probably, the least part of the riches of this establishment; for every person who pays his homage to the deity is expected to make offerings proportionate to his means.

"It is impossible to form a conjecture of the probable amount of these collections, for although every person's name, with the sum presented, be registered, the book is withheld from the inspection of profane eyes. The merchants and sahucars from the Dekirn are considered the most welcome visitors; for, if we may believe report, many of them have been known to distribute and expend lakhs of rupees in this holy pilgrimage.

"However sparing the dispensation of his favours in this world, the deity holds forth ample rewards in the next, by the promise of an unqualified remission from the state of transmigration.

"The temple is opened every morning at daybreak, and continues exposed for the admission of pilgrims till one or two of the clock in the afternoon; the deity is then supposed to be ready for his dinner, which being prepared for him, he is shut up to take his meal and evening repose. The doors are again opened after sunset, and remain so till a late hour, when a bed is laid out for him, and he is again left to his meditations. The vessels he is served in are of gold and silver, and the expenses of his clothes and table are said to be very considerable. A large establishment of servants of every description is kept up, and during the months of pilgrimage the deity is well clothed, and fares sumptuously every day; but as soon as winter commences, the priests take their departure, leaving him to provide for his own wants until the

the periodical return of the holy season.

"Naragena Rao, the present rauhil, is a man of about thirty-two or thirty-three years of age; his appointment was conferred on him by an order from Nepal, not, we may presume, on account of exemplary conduct, for he was the first who applied for remedies to cure a certain unaccountable disorder with which he had long been troubled, and which he innocently ascribed to the rarefaction of the atmosphere; but it was sufficiently evident that the shrine of his deity was not the only one at which he had been paying his devotion.

"The number of pilgrims who have visited Bhadrinath this year is calculated at from 45 to 50,000; the greater part of these fakirs, who came from the most remote quarters of India. All these people assemble at Haridwar, and, as soon as the fair is concluded, take their departure for the holy land: the road they follow is by Devayprayaga* to Rudraprayaga, whence they strike off to Cedar-Nath.

"This place is situated about fourteen or fifteen miles in direct distance to the west-north-west of Bradrinath: but the intermediate hills are inaccessible from snow, and the travellers are obliged to make a circuitous route of eight or nine days by the way of Josi-matha hither. The road to Cedar is much obstructed, and in many places leads over beds of snow, extending for several miles. Two or three hundred people are said to have perished this year on the journey, having fallen victims to the inclemency of this climate, and the fatigues they underwent.

"By the time that the pilgrimage to Cedar-Nath is completed, Bhadri-Nath is ready to receive visitors, who, having paid their devotions, return by the road of Nandprayaga and Camprayaga, which conclude the grand circle of pilgrimage."

From the above account it will be seen that the temples of Mahadeo at Buddree-Nauth, are in truth places of great resort and much riches: and a comparison with the description of Gungotree in the subsequent pages will show how totally different the places and interests excited by them severally are. Few will venture on the perilous path to Gungotree, painful as it is, and rendered additionally painful by the many penances and previous ablutions which are

necessary to purify the devotee, and render him worthy to approach this holy solemn spot, whilst the comparative smoothness of the way, and the facilities yielded to all those who can spend a little money, induces thousands to visit the rich shrine of Buddree-Nauth.

Next in importance to the latter place is the temple of Kedar-Nauth: this is situate about half way between the two first mentioned places, and probably at no great distance from either, though, from the nature of the country, it is impracticable to go from the one to the other without a long and painful détour.

The same enormous mountain, though deeply cut into divisions and pinnacles, in all probability gives birth to the rivers, whose sources are marked by the temples of Gungotree, Buddree-Nauth, and Kedar-Nauth. They arise from the same lofty region, and the savage impracticable desertness of snow and rock alone prevents the traveller from going directly from one place to the other. Thus, eleven days journeys are spun out from Gungotree to Kedar-Nauth, while seven or eight days are expended in reaching Buddree-Nauth from the latter place.

Kedar-Nauth is situated at the source of the Kalee-Gungh, a stream far smaller than either the Bhagiruttee or Alacnunda, which joins the latter at Rooderprague. It has never been visited by an European; not on account of any physical difficulty or particular obstacle, but because the other places were more interesting, and attracted observation first: while time was not sufficiently at command to allow of a visit to this place, which, from either of the other places, would occupy twenty days, if a return were contemplated, and would create a difference of ten or twelve, if from them a direct route was made to the capital. From the best information I could collect, the temple of Kedar-Nauth is of indefinite antiquity, not lofty, but of some extent, and sacred to Mahadeo or Seeva, under the name of Kedar: there are several Dhurum sallahs, or huts, erected for the accommodation of the pilgrims who resort to the shrine, and who are pretty numerous from year to year. There are many *counds* or wells in the river near it, which are mere pools sacred for the purpose of preparatory ablution, one of which, Gouree-cound, is one day's journey from the sacred spot. Concerning its riches, or the number or quality of its priests, I have

* Or Deoprague.

have not been able to obtain any particulars.

GLEN OF PALIA GADH.

Having reached the top of the ascent, we looked down upon a very deep and dark glen, called Palia Gadh, which is the outlet to the waters of one of the most terrific and gloomy valleys I have ever seen. The lofty peak Buchooncha stretches forth a rugged ridge called Tolpoorra to the southward, which becomes continuous with Toonul, the lower part of which we crossed. This ridge forms a side and part of the back of the valley or hollow of Cot,ha, the chief ravine of which, however, commences at the top of the bosom of Buchooncha; this is joined by smaller but equally rugged clefts from the back, which all unite their waters below, and roll a great and rapid torrent to the Jumna.

But it would not be easy to convey by any description a just idea of the peculiarly rugged and gloomy wildness of this glen: it looks like the ruins of nature, and appears, as it is said to be, completely impracticable and impenetrable. Little is to be seen except dark rock: wood only fringes the lower parts and the waters' edge: perhaps the spots and streaks of snow, contrasting with the general blackness of the scene, heighten the appearance of desolation. No living thing is seen; no motion but that of the waters; no sound but their roar. Such a spot is suited to engender superstition, and here it is accordingly found in full growth. Many wild traditions are preserved, and many extravagant stories related of it.

On one of these ravines there are places of worship, not built by men, but natural piles of stones, which have the appearance of small temples. These are said to be the residence of the dewtas, or spirits, who here haunt and inveigle human beings away to their wild abodes. It is said that they have a particular predilection for beauty in both sexes, and remorselessly seize on any whom imprudence or accident may have placed within their power, and whose spirits become like theirs after they are deprived of their corporeal frame. Many instances were given of these ravishments: on one occasion, a young man, who had wandered near their haunts, being carried in a trance to the valley, heard the voice of his own father, who some years before had been thus spirited away, and who now recognized his son. It appears that

paternal affection was stronger than the spell that bound him, and instead of rejoicing in the acquisition of a new prey, he recollected the forlorn state of his family deprived of their only support: he begged and obtained the freedom of his son, who was dismissed under the injunction of strict silence and secrecy. He, however, forgot his vow, and was immediately deprived of speech, and, as a self-punishment, he cut out his tongue with his own hand. This man was said to be yet living, and I desired that he should be brought to me, but he never came, and they afterwards informed me that he had very lately died. More than one person is said to have approached the spot, or the precincts of these spirits, and those who have returned have generally agreed in the expression of their feelings, and have uttered some prophecy. They fall, as they say, into a swoon, and between sleeping and waking hear a conversation, or are sensible of certain impressions as if a conversation were passing, which generally relates to some future event. Indeed, the prophetic faculty is one of the chiefly remarkable attributes of these spirits, and of this place.

The officiating Brahmins sometimes venture farther than the vulgar, and are favoured by communications of future import. It is said that they prophesied the misfortunes and death of Purdoomun Sah, the loss of his kingdom, and his life at Deyrah Dhoon, and the commencement of the Ghoorkha Raj. They also foretold, as is asserted, the termination of that tyranny the very month that the final issue would take place, and the commencement of the English power over the country. Upon my smiling at this, and remarking on the easiness of converting into a prophecy what had already happened, both Bhisht and Kishen Sing assured me of the fact with great earnestness, and the former averred that he had told Ummr Sing of the prophecy, but that he had defied it. I inquired whether there had been any late oracles, and, after some hesitation, and with much reluctance, I was informed that it had been predicted within the last three weeks, that there would, in the course of the next twelve months, be wars in Hindostan, of so bloody a nature, that the nullahs would run red: but between what powers, or who was to be the conqueror, they would not, or could not say.

The awe, however, which the natives feel

feel for this place is great and remarkable. The moment that Bhisht and Kishen Sing came in sight of the place, they commenced prostrations, and the forms of worship, with many prayers of much apparent fervency, to the spirits of the glen. They assert that no man ever ascended the valley to any considerable height, and that natural as well as supernatural obstacles are too great to be overcome; that of the few who have attempted it, none ever returned, or ever enjoyed his reason again.

The glen above described is by far the most gloomy savage scene we have yet met with. I regret that the weather did not permit a sketch of it to be attempted. Beyond this we could see nothing in the course of the river but rocky banks. The opposite side is particularly precipitous; yet along its face a road is carried, which is frequented as much as this, and leads to the villages still further up. By the time we had reached the village, the clouds which had lowered around and sunk down on the hills, began to burst with loud thunder and heavy rain. The noise was fearfully reverberated among the hills; and during the night more than once the sound was heard of fragments from the brows of the mountains, crashing down to the depths below with a terrific din. Our quarters were good. I slept in a temple, neat, clean, and secure from the weather.

While waiting for the despatch of the baggage, I was listening to the numberless tales which were related of the valley we were leaving, when Kishen Sing pointed out the brow of a precipice, where, he says, on a former occasion some extraordinary appearances were observed. It was whilst on an expedition with Prithum Sah, the brother of the late rajah. They were leaving this village in the morning, when, in sight of the whole train of attendants, columns of smoke, or mist of various colours, green, red, and blue, rose from a cleft in the hill, and proceeded to the course of a small stream, which takes its rise in the same hill; and, returning again, vanished. They possessed no shape or distinct form; but, as he expressed it, were like the shades of men without corporeal substance. The general character of the spot might assist imagination to a very great degree in giving to airy nothings "a local habitation and a name."

TRIUMPHS OF PRIESTCRAFT.

The annual ceremony of carrying the

images of their gods to wash in the sacred stream of the Jumna is (it appears) one of much solemnity among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood; and the concourse of people here assembled has been busily engaged, and continues to be fully occupied in doing honour to it. They dance to the sound of strange music, and intoxicate themselves with a sort of vile spirit, brewed here from grain and particular roots, sometimes, it is said, sharpened by pepper. The dance is most grotesque and savage: a multitude of men taking hands, sometimes in a circle, sometimes in line, beating time with their feet, bend with one accord, first nearly to the earth with their faces, then backwards, and then sidewise, with various wild contortions. These, and their uncouth dress of black and gray blankets, give a peculiar air of brutal ferocity to the assemblage. The men dance all day, and in the evening they are joined by the women, who mix indiscriminately with them, and keep up dancing and intoxication till the night is far advanced. They continue this frantic kind of worship for several days; and, in truth, it is much in unison with their general manners and habits,—savage and inconsistent. At a place so sacred, the residence of so many holy Brahmins, and the resort of so many pious pilgrims, we might expect to find a strict attention to the forms of religion, and a scrupulous observance of the privations and austerities enjoined by it. So far, however, is this from the truth, that much is met with, shocking even to those Hindoos who are least bigoted.

GUNGOTREE.

There were several points to be arranged before we could set off. In the first place, it was agreed to leave all the Mussulmauns of the party at the village. The Pundit next represented, that it was not customary to permit any armed person to approach the sacred shrine, nor even to pass beyond the village, and that all persons here put off their shoes, and performed this stage with naked feet.

As by the general voice it was allowed that marauding and plundering were common occurrences in this neighbourhood, I did not deem it proper or safe to go wholly unarmed; but I agreed that only five men should be permitted thus accoutred to attend us, and that I should myself carry my gun. But all these weapons of war were to be put aside before we got within sight of the holy

holy spot, and deposited in a cave near it, under a guard. I also pledged myself that no use should be made of these instruments, nor any life sacrificed for the purpose of food, either by myself, or by any of my people, after leaving the village, until we returned: moreover, that I would not even carry meat of any sort, dead or alive, along with me, but eat only rice and bread. As to the putting off my shoes, they did not even propose it to me, and it could not have been done; but I volunteered to put them off, when entering into the precincts of the temple and holier places which pleased them greatly. All the Hindoos, including the Ghoorkhas, went from the village barefoot.

Just at the end of the bridge there is an overhanging rock, under which worship is performed to Bhyram, and a black stone partly painted red, is the image of the god; and here prayers and worship alone were not performed, but every one was obliged to bathe and eat bread baked by the Brahmins, as preparatory to the great and effectual ablutions at the holier Gungotree. This occupied a considerable time, as the party was numerous: in the meantime I took a very imperfect sketch of the scene, after which I bathed myself at the proper place (which is the junction of the two streams,) while the Brahmin prayed over me. Among the ceremonies performed, he made me hold a tuft of grass while he prayed, which at the conclusion he directed me to throw into the eddy occasioned by the meeting of the two waters.

From hence we ascended the rock, at the foot of which the bridge is situated, by a path more curious, dangerous, and difficult than any we had yet passed.

By this unpleasant path we reached a step, or level spot on the first stage of the mountain, where, in a thick grove of fir trees, is placed a small temple to Bhyram, a plain white building, built by order of Ummr Sing Thappa, who gave a sum of money to repair the road, and erect places of worship here, and at Gungotree. Having paid our respects to Byramjee, we proceeded along the side of the hill on the right bank (north) of the river, gradually ascending by a path equally difficult and dangerous as the first part of our ascent, but more fearful, as the precipice to the river, which rolls below us, increases in height, and exceedingly toilsome from the nature of the ground over which it passes,

and which consists wholly of sharp fragments from the cliffs above, with fallen trunks and broken branches of trees.

The path increases in difficulty from the very irregular nature of the ground, as well as the steepness of the hill face across which it leads, ascending and descending as the small, though deep, watercourses furrow the mountain side, in loose soil, formed of the small fragments fallen from above, and which slip down, threatening to carry the traveller to the gulph below. The shapeless blocks of rock now more completely obstructed the way, and for hundreds of yards, at times, the passenger must clamber over these masses, heaped as they are one upon another, in monstrous confusion, and so uncertain and unsteady that, huge though they are, they shake and move even under the burthen of a man's weight. So painful indeed is this track, that it might be conceived as meant to serve as a penance to the unfortunate pilgrims with bare feet, thus to prepare and render them more worthy for the special and conclusive act of piety they have in view, as the object of their journey to these extreme wilds.

The spot which bears the name of Gungotree is concealed by the roughness of the ground, and the masses of fallen rock, so as not to be seen till the traveller comes close upon it.

The temple is situated precisely on the sacred stone on which Bhagirutte used to worship Mahadeo, and is a small building of a square shape for about twelve feet high, and rounding in, in the usual form of pagodas, to the top. It is quite plain, painted white, with red mouldings, and surmounted with the usual melon-shaped ornaments of these buildings. From the eastern face of the square, which is turned nearly to the sacred source, there is a small projection covered with a stone roof, in which is the entrance facing the east, and just opposite this there is a small pagoda-shaped temple to Bhyramjee. The whole is surrounded by a wall built of unhewn stone and lime, and the space this contains is paved with flat stones. In this space too there is a comfortable but small house for the residence of the Brahmins who come to officiate. Without the inclosure there are two or three sheds constructed of wood, called *dhurm sallahs*, built for the accommodation of pilgrims who resort here; and there are many caves around formed by over-

overhanging stones, which yield a shelter to those who cannot find accommodation in the sheds.

The scene in which this holy place is situated is worthy of the mysterious sanctity attributed to it, and the reverence with which it is regarded. We have not here the confined gloominess of Bhyram Gattee: the actual dread which cannot but be inspired by the precipices and torrents, and perils of the place, here gives way to a sensation of awe, imposing, but not embarrassing, that might be compared to the dark and dangerous pass to the centre of the ruins of a former world: for, most truly, there is little here that recalls the recollection of that which we seem to have quitted. The bare and peaked cliffs which shoot to the skies, yield not in ruggedness or elevation to any we have seen; their ruins lie in wild chaotic masses at their feet, and scantier wood imperfectly relieves their nakedness; even the dark pine more rarely roots itself in the deep chasms which time has worn. Thus on all sides is the prospect closed, except in front to the eastward; where, from behind a mass of bare spires, four huge, lofty, snowy peaks arise; these are the peaks of Roodroo-Himala. There could be no finer finishing, no grander close to such a scene.

We approach it through a labyrinth of enormous shapeless masses of granite, which during ages have fallen from the cliffs above that frown over the very temple, and in all probability will some day themselves descend in ruins and crush it. Around the inclosure, and among these masses, for some distance up the mountain, a few fine old pine trees throw a dark shade, and form a magnificent fore ground; while the river runs impetuously in its shingly bed, and the stifled but fearful sound of the stones which it rolls along with it, crushing together, mixes with the roar of its waters.

It is easy to write of rocks and wilds, of torrents and precipices; it is easy to tell of the awe such scenes inspire: this style and these descriptions are common and hackneyed. But it is not so simple, to many surely not very possible, to convey an adequate idea of the stern and rugged majesty of some scenes; to paint their lonely desertness, or describe the undefinable sensation of reverence and dread that steals over the mind while contemplating the deathlike ghastly calm that is shed over them; and when at such a moment we remem-

ber our homes, our friends, our firesides, and all social intercourse with our fellows, and feel our present solitude, and far distance from all these dear ties, how vain is it to strive at description! Surely such a scene is Gungotree. Nor is it, independent of the nature of the surrounding scenery, a spot which lightly calls forth powerful feelings. We were now in the centre of the stupendous Himala, the loftiest and perhaps most rugged range of mountains in the world. We were at the acknowledged source of that noble river, equally an object of veneration and a source of fertility, plenty and opulence to Hindostan; and we had now reached the holiest shrine of Hindoo worship which these holy hills contain. These are surely striking considerations, combining with the solemn grandeur of the place, to move the feelings strongly.

The fortuitous circumstance of being the first European that ever penetrated to this spot was no matter of boast, for no great danger had been braved, no extraordinary fatigues undergone: the road is now open to any other who chuses to attempt it, but it was a matter of satisfaction to myself. The first object of inquiry that naturally occurs to the traveller, after casting a glance over the general landscape, is the source of the river. Here, as at Jumnotree, you are told that no mortal has gone, or can go further towards its extreme origin than this spot; and the difficulty is indeed very apparent. I made a trial to gain a point about two furlongs beyond the temple, both for the purpose of observing the course of the river, and of seeing Gungotree in another point of view. But having with considerable difficulty made my way over the unsteady fragments for some hundred yards at the risk of being precipitated into the stream, I was forced to turn back. The precipices beyond descend more abruptly to the water's edge, and in all probability it would be nearly impossible to make one's way along their surface. Crossing the stream to take advantage of easier places on either side to pass along is out of the question; it is too large and too rapid, and climbing the mountain side higher up is equally so, for the crags increase in ruggedness and steepness till they end in snow. Thus, though in a particular water-course or chasm it may be possible to ascend for a short way, yet no end except that of a somewhat more extensive view of what

what we already know could be thus attained. It may be that some enterprising persons remaining at this spot for several days or weeks might explore a path, or form one towards the source, for time and patient perseverance with courage may do much, but I am convinced it will be found extremely difficult; and probably the Paharies, whose assistance would be necessary to strangers, will be with difficulty persuaded to overcome the religious prejudice which has hitherto kept them below.

The source is not more than five miles horizontal distance from the temple, and in a direction south-east, 85° nearly; and beyond this place it is in all probability chiefly supplied by the melting of the great bosom of snow which terminates the valley, and which lies between the peaks of the great mountain above mentioned.

This mountain, which is considered to be the loftiest and greatest of the snowy range in this quarter, and probably yields to none in the whole Himalaya, obtains the name of Roodroo Himala, and is held to be the throne or residence of Mahadeo himself. It is also indiscriminately called Pauch Purbut, from its five peaks; and Soomeroo Purbot, which is not to be confounded with the mountain so called near Bunderbouch; and sometimes the general appellation of Kylas is given, which literally signifies any snowy hill, but is applied to this mountain by way of pre-eminence. It has five principal peaks, called Roodroo Himala, Burrumpooree, Bissenpooree, Oodgurre Kanta, and Soorga Rounee. These form a sort of semi-circular hollow of very considerable extent, filled with eternal snow, from the gradual dissolution of the lower parts of which the principal part of the stream is generated: probably there may be smaller hollows beyond the point to the right above Gungotree, which also supply a portion.

THEOLOGICAL LEGEND.

It may be amusing to relate the fabulous origin of this mountain, of the range, and of the two rivers as given by the Brahmin. Whether it be the same as is assigned in the shasters I have not the means of ascertaining. It was, however, attributed to them.

The common tale of the usurpation of the empire of Lunka, by Rawen the son of Maha Deo, who rebelled against his father, is well known; as also are the adventures of Ram and Lutchmun,

driven from their father Maha Deo's presence, by the trick of one of his wives; the history of this pair, and of Sita, the wife of Ram; their meeting with the Hoonoomaun in the Amrita gardens in Lunka; the rape of Sita by Rawen, tyrant and usurper of Lunka; the conquest of that place, and recovery of Sita, with the union of the three brothers in favour with their god and father, Maha Deo. When Maha Deo retired from Lunka, disgusted at the rebellion of his son Rawen, and, as it is said, forced by him to fly, he formed Kylas, or the Himala range for his retreat; and Soomeroo Purbut, or Roodroo Himala, with its five peaks, rugged and inaccessible as it is, for his own dwelling, that none should find him out. Both Bhagiruttee and Alacknunda are there said to have sprung from the head of Maha Deo. Twelve holy Brahmins, denominated the twelve Reekhee, left Lunka in search of Maha Deo, and penetrated to Bhyramghattee, where the J,hannevie meets the Bhagiruttee, but could not find him. Eleven of them in despair went to Cashmere, but the twelfth, named Jum-Reekhee, remained at Bhyramghattee, sitting on a huge rock in the course of the stream of the Bhagiruttee, which instead of flowing on as usual, was absorbed in the belly of the Rheekhee and lost, while the J,hannevie flowed on. The goddess of the stream (Bhagiruttee) herself was at Gungotree, worshipping Maha Deo, and making her prostrations on the stone on which now the temple is founded. When she felt that the course of the stream was stopped, she went in wrath to Bhyramghattee, clove the Jum Reekhee in two, and gave a free passage to the river. One half of the Reekhee she flung to the westward, and it became the mountain of Bundepouch. From his thigh sprung the Jumna, and from his skull arose the hot springs mentioned when treating of Jumnotree. Thus far the extravagances of the shasters; and still they show the large rock which the Reekhee sat upon, and which was divided in two by the same fatal cut. It is a very large block of granite, which appears to have fallen from the cliff, above the point of union between the two rivers, and is curiously split in two.

THE TEMPLE OF GUNGOTREE.

The outside of the temple has already been described.* Within there are

* Lat. $31^{\circ} 8' N.$ and Long. $78^{\circ} 55' E.$
three

three images: one, I think, is that of Kali: and the elevated stone shelf on which they were placed was wet and soiled with the offerings made: there was a peculiar smell, but I know not whence it proceeded. The place, as usual, was lighted by a small lamp: no daylight had admittance. Just below the temple, on the river side, grew three poplar-trees, and a few small larches: above there are the remains of a fine old silver fir-tree, which overshadows some of the caves and sheds. The whole people also bathed, and contributed something to the priesthood; and it was a matter of serious importance, as well as of great joy to every one, that we had thus happily reached a place of such supereminent sanctity: such, indeed, that the act of bathing here is supposed to cleanse from every sin heretofore committed, and the difficulty of which is so great, that few, except professional devotees, ever attempt reaching the holy place.

It is customary that those who have lost their father and mother, or either of these, shall be shaved at this spot; and it was curious to observe the whimsical changes produced by the operation, which numbers underwent. It appears also, that one chief ordinance was the going frequently round the holy temple; and we particularly observed that those who were noted as the greatest rogues were most forward in this pious exercise: one man in particular, who had been a notorious thief, was unwearied in his perseverance.

Well, indeed, do they say, that Seeva has formed these recesses which he inhabits, inaccessible to all but those whom true devotion leads to his shrine. That man must have been indeed strongly impelled by devotion, ambition, or curiosity, who first explored the way to Gungotree. It were unavailing to enquire, and perhaps of little use, if known, to which of these motives we owe the enterprise; but patience, perseverance, and courage, must have been strongly united with it to lead him safely and successfully through those awful cliffs, that would bar the way to most men. Another omen of favour pointed out was, the increase of the river after bathing, as at Jumnotree; and it is singular enough, that during the time we remained here, I remarked several increases and decreases of the water, without any obvious causes; but these may fairly be referred to the effects of sudden

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changes of temperature occurring frequently among the hills, and acting on the body of snow that feeds the river.

All these things, however, gave room for fresh showers of compliments, and served as a theme for flattering the British, who were now lords of the ascendant, and to whose rule they promised permanence and prosperity.

DESCENT TO THE PLAINS.

The night as usual was bad, but the morning was lovely. Not a cloud was to be seen, except here and there a low mass hovering over the distance, or a milk white fleecy vapour reposing on the beautiful green of the hills, and serving richly to contrast with the mellow tints of the wood and cultivation that spotted their sides. It is impossible to tell the delight which such a scene, in such a morning, affords to the eye, weary with rocky deserts and foaming torrents. For some weeks we had only risen to behold heavy mists half concealing black barren rocks, thinly covered with dark wood, and rapid destructive streams tumbling down gloomy ravines, while heavy and unceasing rain added to the cheerlessness of the prospect.

Here at last we saw the cheering face of heaven; hills of a lovely green, wooded to the top and divided by valleys, studded with villages and rich with cultivation. There are few, I believe, who would not feel the enlivening effects of such a change, and acknowledge the kindly glow of satisfaction that it sheds over the mind. Surely in these moments we must confess that however the grand and remote scenes of savage nature may delight and astonish for a season, they are not fit for the residence of man. The most ambitious must at times descend from the lofty but solitary and barren tracks of his greatness, to solace himself with the lowlier but kindlier charities of life. Deserts and solitude may be endured for a time, but sooner or later we feel the want of, and languish for, the intercourse and conversation of our fellow creatures, for the sweet interchange of human affections, for the comforts and elegancies of polished life, and return to them with enhanced eagerness and zest.

From hence in two days a sharp ascent carried us to a point in the crest of the Sowakhola ridge, and all the beautiful D,hoon, and the still more lovely and smiling plains of Hindostan, burst full upon our view. Scarcely a cloud ob-

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scured

scured them; only in the hollow at our feet they floated sparingly, and we enjoyed undisturbed the enchanting scene. The full beauty of this sight, and the delight it gave to us, can only be comprehended by those who have travelled over mountains as immense and rugged as those of Bischur and Ghurwhal for four or five months, partly alone, marching continually, with few comforts, and in unfavourable weather. Such may recollect how cheering to the sight would be, under such circumstances, the dwellings of civilized man, and how sweet the voices of friends to the ear. From hence we obtained a short and last glimpse of the snowy hills and of the peak of Bunderpouch; Hurdwar was also seen, with several points which we could not well distinguish.

NEPALESE POLICY.

Translation of Draft of a Petition to be addressed to the Emperor of China, by the Rajah of Nepal, inclosed in Ummr Sing's Letter from Raj Gurh, dated 2d of March, 1815.

"I yield obedience to the Emperor of China, and no one dare invade my dominions: or, if any power has ventured to encroach on my territory, through your favour and protection, I have been able to discomfit and expel them. Now, however, a powerful and inveterate enemy has attacked me, and, as I owe allegiance to you, I rely on obtaining your assistance and support. From Khunka to the Sutlej, for a thousand cos, war is waging between us. Entertaining designs on Bhote (Tartary) the enemy endeavours to get possession of Nepal; and for these objects he has fomented a quarrel, and declared war. Five or six great actions have already been fought; but, through the fortune and glory of your Imperial Majesty, I have succeeded in destroying about 20,000 of the enemy.

"But his wealth and military resources are great, and he sustains the loss without receding a step. On the contrary numerous reinforcements continue to arrive, and my country is invaded at all points. Though I might obtain a hundred thousand soldiers from the hills and plains, yet without pay they cannot be maintained; and, though I have every desire to pay them, I have not the means.

"Without soldiers I cannot repel the enemy. Consider the Ghoorkhas as

your tributaries: reflect that the English came to conquer Nepal and Bhote; and for these reasons be graciously pleased to assist us with a sum of money, that we may levy an army, and drive forth the invaders; or if you are unwilling to assist us with subsidies, and prefer sending an army to our aid, 'tis well.

"The climate of Dhurma is temperate; and you may easily send an army of 2 or 300,000 men, by the route of Dhurma into Bengal, spreading alarm and consternation among the Europeans as far as Calcutta. The enemy has subjugated all the rajahs of the plains, and usurped the throne of the king of Dehli; and, therefore, it is to be expected that these would all unite in expelling Europeans from Hindostan. By such an event your name will be renowned throughout Jumboo Dweep; and whenever you may command, the whole of its inhabitants will be forward in your service. Should you think that the conquest of Nepal, and the forcible separation of the Ghoorkhas from their dependence on the Emperor of China, cannot materially affect your Majesty's interest, I beseech you to reflect that, without your aid, I cannot repulse the English; that these are the people who have already subdued all India, and usurped the throne of Dehli; that with my army and resources, I am quite unable to make head against them; and that the world will henceforth say, that the Emperor of China abandoned to their fate his tributaries and dependents. I acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor of China above all other potentates on earth. The English, after obtaining possession of Nepal, will advance by the routes of Buddrinauth and Mansowroar, and also by that of Dig-gurcheh, for the purpose of conquering Lassa. I beg, therefore, that you will write an order to the English, directing them to withdraw their forces from the territory of the Ghoorkha state, which is tributary and dependent on you, otherwise you will send an army to our aid. I beseech you, however, to lose no time in sending assistance, whether in men or money, that I may drive forth the enemy, and maintain possession of the mountains, otherwise, in a few years, he will be master of Lassa."

HISTORICAL
MEMOIRS OF NAPOLEON.
BOOK IX.

8vo. 10s. 6d. in French and English.

[The ninth book of this very important historical work, which has so long been announced, and about which NAPOLEON is so well known to be employed at Saint Helena, has appeared as the first of the series, because its subject was thought of greater temporary interest. Of course the entire work will rank as a modern classic, and be regarded in the year 3000, just as we now regard the Commentaries of Cæsar. It dispels a thousand errors relative to the events of 1815, and it proves the compound treachery of various persons entrusted with commands in the French army, and that the loan of thirty millions granted in that year, was not inactive; we repeat, however, as moralists, that even if the results had not been obtained as they doubtless were, no glory can ever attend victory unless the cause in which the victors are engaged is just, and the appeals to arms UNAVOIDABLE, and these are moral questions appertaining to every freeman who draws a sword or pulls a trigger. To maintain that those who fight battles have no concern in the justice of their cause, is to sink the character of a soldier into that of a slave, or hired assassin, and to deprive him of all pretensions to glory even when the cause is just in which he is engaged. Glory without justice is only the glory of a banditti. Both parties may assert that justice is with it, but the disturbed state of Europe since 1815, proves that the moral sense of mankind is not satisfied.]

RETURN FROM ELBA.

NAPOLEON left Elba on the 26th February, 1815, about nine o'clock at night; he embarked on board the brig of war *Inconstant*, which carried a white ensign sprinkled with bees, during the whole of the voyage. On the first of March, at five in the afternoon, he disembarked near Cannes, in the Gulf of Juan; when, his little army assumed the tri-coloured cockade; it consisted of one thousand men, the greater number of whom were soldiers of the old guard. He passed through Grasse on the second, at nine in the morning, slept at Sernon, having advanced twenty leagues during the day. The Emperor slept at Barrême on the third; on the fourth, his advanced guard, commanded by General Cambronne, seized on the fortress of Sisteron; on the fifth he entered Gap, and on the seventh, at two o'clock p. m. he

met, on the heights before Vizille, the advanced guard of the garrison of Grenoble, which had been ordered to march against him. His Imperial Majesty went up to the colours alone, and, after a short harangue, the whole body assumed the tri-coloured cockade: placing himself at the head of these troops, they were ordered to wheel about, and at night he entered Grenoble, having proceeded eighty leagues through a most difficult and mountainous country, a march which is unequalled in history. Remaining at the last-named city during the eighth, he departed on the following day at the head of eight thousand troops of the line, and thirty pieces of cannon, making his entry into Lyons on the tenth, when Count Defargues, the mayor, presented the keys of the city to his Majesty. The Count D'Artois, the Duke of Orleans, and Duke of Tarento precipitately retired from it, unaccompanied, on the same day; their unexpected apparition at the Thuilleries, soon after, seemed to strike the court with a species of stupor. Finally, on the twentieth of March, at eight o'clock in the evening, it being the anniversary of his son's birth-day, the Emperor entered Paris. Forty thousand troops of the line had, by this time, successively ranged themselves under his banners. The little army of Elba arrived the next day, having marched two hundred and forty leagues in twenty days. Louis quitted Paris on the night between the 19th and 20th of March, crossing the frontiers of France on the 23rd. On his departure from Lisle, all the fortresses of Flanders hoisted the tri-coloured flag.

At the first report of Napoleon's disembarkation, the Duke de Bourbon had been sent to Nantes, to head the people of La Vendée; whilst the Duke d'Angoulême was invested with the government of the provinces on the left bank of the Loire. All the attempts made to raise the people in the West, were fruitless; there the inhabitants recollected the great debt of gratitude which they owed to Napoleon.

As to the Duke de Bourbon, he embarked at Paimbœuf, on the first of April, in an English vessel; meanwhile, the Duke d'Angoulême sent the Baron de Vitrolles, a minister of state, from Bordeaux, to establish the headquarters of his government at Toulouse, leaving the Duchess, his wife, at Bordeaux, in the hope of retaining that important

important town, and of rallying with the Spanish army. The Duke himself, at the head of the 10th regiment of infantry, the 14th mounted chasseurs, and some battalions of royal volunteers of Languedoc, conceived the rash enterprise of marching to Lyons; while the troops raised at Marseilles should proceed to Grenoble. He passed the Rhone by the bridge of St. Esprit, carried that on the Drome, which was defended by the national guards of Montelimart, entered Valence on the third, and established his outposts along the left bank of the Isere. At the same time, the armed force from Marseilles, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, supported by the 83d and 58th regiments of the line, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Ernouf, passed through Gap, and marched to Grenoble. These successes lasted but a single day; the Duchess d'Angouleme was forced to quit Bourdeaux on the second. On the arrival of Lieutenant-General Clausel, she embarked on board an English brig. Vitrolles was arrested on the fourth by Lieutenant-General Laborde, and imprisoned at Paris. General Gilly, profiting by the enthusiasm of the people of Languedoc, put himself at their head; his advance, composed of the 10th mounted chasseurs, and of the 6th light infantry, took possession of the bridge of St. Esprit, driving the royalists before them. On the report of the dangers which threatened Lyons, the inhabitants of Burgundy and Auvergne arose en masse, and hastened to that city to demand arms, for the purpose of marching against Princes, whom they considered as allied to the enemies of the French name. The tri-coloured flag was displayed in all the villages of Dauphiny, and an alarm bell announced the march of the royalists. On seeing the imperial eagle, which Lieutenant-General Chabert carried at the head of the national guard of Grenoble, the troops of the line instantly abandoned the royal cause: after this, the troops from Marseilles, surrounded on all sides, lost no time in disbanding themselves; happy in being thus able to regain their liberty. The Duke d'Angouleme now fully comprehended the imprudence of his undertaking; he, therefore, hastily evacuated Valence, and, while endeavouring to gain the bridge of St. Esprit, he was made prisoner by General Gilly.

The Emperor released the captive,

and allowed him to embark at Cette, on the 16th, in a Swedish vessel. Marshal Massena, by displaying the tri-coloured flag in Provence, terminated the civil war. On the 20th, the salute of a hundred cannon from the invalids, announced to the capital, while discharges of artillery from the batteries on the coasts, and the fortresses on the frontiers, convinced foreign states, that the people of France had resumed their rights!

History will not fail to do justice to the generosity of the Conqueror, on this occasion. The Baron de Vitrolles had been excepted, by the decree of Lyons, from the general amnesty, and the Duke d'Angouleme, whose sentence was pronounced by the law of retaliation, were both saved by his clemency. "I wish," said Napoleon, "to be able to proclaim, that I re-conquered my throne without having shed a drop of blood, either in the field of battle, or on the scaffold."

PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1815.

The second plan was to anticipate the Allies, and to commence hostilities before they were ready; they could not commence hostilities until the 15th of July: it was necessary therefore to take the field on the 15th of June, to beat the Anglo-Belgian army, and that of Prussia and Saxony, which were in Belgium, before the Russians, Austrians, Bavarians, &c. &c., had arrived on the Rhine. On the 15th of June, an army of a hundred and forty thousand men might be united in Flanders, leaving a curtain on all the frontiers, and good garrisons in each of the strong places. 1st. If the Anglo-Belgian and Prusso-Saxon armies were beaten, Belgium would revolt, and its troops recruit the French army. 2dly. The defeat of the English army must have led to the dismissal of the English ministry, whose places would no doubt have been supplied by the friends of peace, liberty, and the independence of nations; this circumstance alone would have terminated the war. 3dly. If it happened to be otherwise, the army, victorious in Belgium, re-inforced by the 5th corps that remained in Alsace, and by the reinforcements, which the dépôts could furnish in the months of June and July, would march on the Vosges against the Russian and Austrian armies. 4thly. The advantages of this project were numerous, it was conformable to the genius of the nation, and to the spirit and principles of the war; it remedied

remedied the dreadful inconvenience attached to the first project; viz. the abandonment of Flanders, Picardy, Artois, Alsace, Loraine, Champagne, Burgundy, Franche Comté, and Dauphiny, without firing a shot. But was it possible, with a force of a hundred and forty thousand men, to beat the two armies which covered Belgium, viz. the Anglo-Belgian army, composed of a hundred and four thousand men under arms,* and the Prusso-Saxon army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, in all two hundred and twenty-four thousand men? The force of these armies should not be estimated by a mere comparison of the number, two hundred and twenty-four thousand with a hundred and forty thousand, because the allied army was composed of troops, more or less efficient; so that an Englishman might be counted for one Frenchman, two Dutchmen, Prussians, or soldiers of the confederation, for one Frenchman. The enemies' armies were under the command of two different generals, and formed of nations divided no less by their sentiments than interests.

THE EMPEROR TAKES THE FIELD.

The emperor set out from Paris on the 12th in the morning, breakfasted at Soissons, slept at Laon, gave his last orders for the arming of that place, and arrived at Avesne on the 13th. On the 14th at night the army encamped in three directions: the left, more than forty thousand strong, composed of the 2nd and 1st corps, on the right bank of the Sambre, at Hamsur-Heure, and Solre-sur-Sambre; the centre, more than sixty thousand strong, composed of the 3rd and 6th corps of the imperial guard and of the reserves of cavalry, at Beaumont, where the head-quarters were established; the right, more than fifteen thousand strong, formed of the 4th corps, and a division of cuirassiers, in front of Philippeville. The camps were established behind small hills, a league from the frontier, in such a way that the fires were not perceived by the enemy, who in fact had no knowledge of the encampment. On the 14th at night, the returns proved that the force of the army was one hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred men,

* Not comprehending the fourteen English regiments disembarked at Ostend from North America, or garrisoning the fortresses of Belgium.

and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.

FRENCH ARMY.

	Infant.	Cav.	Artil. Eng. Mil. Equip.
Left wing, .	37,400	2,800	3,128
Centre, .	35,100	16,000	11,634
Right wing, .	12,100	2,800	1,442
Total of each army	84,600	21,600	16,204

Grand total 122,404 men, and 350 guns.

EMPEROR'S ADDRESS.

On the evening of the 14th the Emperor issued the following order of the day:—"Soldiers! this is the anniversary of Marengo, and of Friedland. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous! We gave credit to the protestations and oaths of the princes whom we suffered to remain on their thrones! Now, however, coalesced between themselves, they aim at the independence and at the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions.—Are we no longer the same men?"

"Soldiers, at Jena, when fighting against these very Prussians, now so arrogant, you were as one to two, and at Montmirail as one to three.

"Let those amongst you, who have been in the hands of the English, recite the story of their prison ships, and the evils which they suffered in them.

"The Saxons, Belgians, and Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Rhenish confederation, groan at the thought of being obliged to lend their arms to the cause of princes, enemies of justice, and of the rights of nations. They know that this coalition is insatiable! after having DEVoured TWELVE MILLIONS OF POLES, TWELVE MILLIONS OF ITALIANS, A MILLION OF SAXONS, SIX MILLIONS OF BELGIANS; IT WILL, IF PERMITTED, ALSO DEVOUR THE STATES OF THE SECOND CLASS IN GERMANY.

"Fools that they are! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and the humiliation of the French people are out of their power! If they enter France, there will they find their tomb.

"Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to wage, perils to encounter; but with constancy, the victory will be ours: the rights, the honour of the country, will be reconquered.

"For every Frenchman who possesses a heart, the moment has now arrived either to conquer or perish!"

THE

THE ARMY OF THE CONFEDERATES.

On the night of the 14th, the enemy's armies were very tranquil in their cantonments. The *Prusso-Saxon army* formed the left, and the *Anglo-Belgian army* the right.

The first, commanded by Marshal Blücher, was one hundred and twenty thousand strong, viz. eighty-five thousand infantry, twenty thousand cavalry, fifteen thousand artillery, engineers, and military attendants, and three hundred pieces of cannon. It was divided into four corps. The first commanded by General Zieten, was connected with the English cantonments, bordered the Sambre, having its head quarters at Charleroi, and Fleurus for its point of concentration. The second, under the orders of General Pirch, was cantoned on the frontier, in the neighbourhood of Namur, which was also its point of concentration. The third, commanded by General Thielman, bordered the Meuse, in the environs of Dinant, and was to concentrate itself at Ciney. Lastly, the fourth corps, under the orders of General Bulow, was behind the three first, with its head quarters at Liège. Thus, it would take each corps half a day to concentrate. The whole army was to assemble in the rear of Fleurus. The first corps was already there; the second had eight leagues to march from Namur; the third had fourteen leagues to march from Ciney, while the fourth had sixteen to march from Ham. The head-quarters of Marshal Blücher were at Namur, distant sixteen leagues from that of the Duke of Wellington, which was at Brussels.

The *Anglo-Belgian army*, under the Duke of Wellington, was formed of twenty-four brigades, of which nine were English, ten German, five Dutch and Belgian; of eleven divisions of cavalry, composed of sixteen English regiments, nine German, and six Dutch, making a grand total of 104,000 men, namely:

English.....	37,000	{	22,000 Infantry.
		{	10,000 Cavalry.
		{	5,000 Artillery.
Germans.....	42,000	{	32,000 Infantry.
		{	6,800 Cavalry.
		{	3,200 Artillery.
Dutch & Belgians	25,000	{	19,000 Infantry.
		{	2,000 Cavalry.
		{	3,000 Artillery.
Total of each branch		{	73,000 Infantry.
		{	20,000 Cavalry.
		{	11,200 Artillery, hav-
			ing 250 guns.
Grand Total....	104,200 men,		

not including eight English regiments from America, disembarked at Ostend; an English regiment at Nieupoort, a battalion of veterans at Ostend, and the 9th, 25th, 29th, and 37th English regiments, in the strong holds of the Belgian frontier, where considerable bodies of militia had been united. The nine English brigades, the five Hanoverian brigades, and the two brigades of the German Legion, formed six divisions, called English. The five Dutch brigades, and the brigade of Nassau, formed three, called Belgian; the troops of Brunswick formed one. These ten divisions were formed into two grand corps of infantry. The first, under the orders of the Prince of Orange, whose head-quarters were at Braine-le-Comte, was composed of five divisions, of which two were English, namely, a division of the guards, and the third division; the others were the three Belgian divisions. Their points of reunion were Enghien, Soignes, Braine-le-Comte, and Nivelles. The second corps, commanded by Lord Hill, whose head-quarters were at Brussels, was composed of five divisions, four English, and that of the Brunswick troops, their points of reunion were Brussels, Alt. Halle, and Ghent. Lord Uxbridge commanded the cavalry; his point of reunion was Grammont. The general park was cantoned round Ghent. It required half a day for each division to join at its point of reunion. The point of concentration for the army was Quatre Bras, in order to be two leagues on the right of the Prussian army.—There was, from the head-quarters of the Prince of Orange to Quatre Bras, a distance of six leagues; from Nivelles, two leagues and a half; from Enghien, thirteen leagues; from Soignes, eleven leagues; from Brussels, the principal head-quarters of the army, eight leagues; from Ghent, seventeen leagues; from Grammont, thirteen leagues; and from Ath, thirteen leagues. Two whole days would therefore be necessary, for the assembly of the two armies on the same field of battle: united, they presented a force of two hundred and twenty-four thousand men.

BATTLE OF LIGNY.

The Emperor, accompanied by a few attendants, visited the chain of outposts mounted on the heights, and windmills, and attentively reconnoitred the position of the enemy's army. It presented a force certainly exceeding eighty thousand men. Its front was covered by a deep ravine, and its right uncovered.

uncovered. The line of battle was perpendicular to the causeway of Namur, Quatre Bras, and in the direction of Sombref to that of Gosselies; the point of Quatre Bras was perpendicular behind the middle of the line. It is evident that Marshal Blucher did not expect to be attacked on that day; he thought there would be time to complete the assembling of his troops, and that he would be supported on his right by the Anglo-Belgian army, which was to march on Quatre Bras by the causeways of Brussels and Nivelles on the 17th.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the third corps attacked the village of St. Amand. In a quarter of an hour afterwards, the fourth corps attacked that of Ligny, while Marshal Grouchy drove back the left of the Prussian army. All the positions and houses situated on the right of the ravine were carried, and the enemy's army thrown on the left bank. The remainder of the third corps of the Prussian army arrived during the battle, through Sombref; this increased the force of the enemy's army to ninety thousand men. The French army, including the sixth corps, which remained constantly in reserve, was seventy thousand men; less than sixty thousand men engaged the enemy. The village of Ligny was taken and retaken four times. It was here that Count *Gerard* acquired such imperishable glory, displaying no less intrepidity than talent. The attack was more feeble than St. Amand, which was also taken and retaken; but it was carried by General Girard, who, having received an order to advance by the left of the ravine, with his division, the third of the second corps, manifested that intrepidity, of which he had given so many examples in his previous military career. He overthrew all who attempted to oppose his march, by the bayonet, and had taken possession of half the village when he fell mortally wounded.

All the reserves of the enemy were repulsed by the bayonet, the centre of his line was pierced, forty pieces of cannon, eight colours or standards, a great number of prisoners, were the trophies of this day. Marshal Grouchy, Generals Excelmans and Pajol, excited admiration by their intrepidity. General Monthion was, in the night, charged with the pursuit of the Prussian left wing. In the official reports, the enemy estimated his loss at twenty

five thousand men killed, wounded, or prisoners, without reckoning twenty thousand men, who disbanded themselves and ravaged the banks of the Meuse to Liege. The guard and the sixth corps suffered no loss; but the fourth corps and General Excelmans' corps of cavalry, as also that of General Pajol, suffered considerably. The loss sustained by the third corps was by no means so great. Girard's division of the second corps was that which suffered most. The total loss was nearly six thousand nine hundred and fifty men killed or wounded. Many of the enemy's generals were killed or wounded. Marshal Blucher was thrown down by a charge of cuirassiers, and trampled on by the horses; but the cuirassiers continued their charge without seeing him. It was already night; by which circumstance this officer, bruised and maimed, succeeded in saving himself.*

BATTLE OF QUATRE BRAS.

The Prince of Orange, whose headquarters were at Braine le Compté, did not receive the Duke of Wellington's order to unite his troops before day-break on the 16th. He then marched with the second brigade of the third Belgian division to Quatre Bras, to support one of the brigades commanded by Prince Bernard of Saxony, who, after having defended Frasné, had taken post between Quatre Bras and Genappe. Since the 15th, the Prince of Orange had remained on this important position all the morning, with eight or nine thousand Belgians, or troops of Nassau, infantry, cavalry, and artillery. He knew that all the cantonments of the Anglo-Belgian army had moved, and directed their march on Quatre Bras, by the roads of Brussels and Nivelles. He also felt the importance of this position; for if the Allies lost it, all their cantonments, coming by the causeway of Nivelles, would be obliged to effect their junction by the cross road, and in the rear of Genappe. If, therefore, Marshal Ney had executed his orders, and marched on Quatre Bras with his forty-three thousand men, at day-break on the 16th, he would have taken possession of this position, and easily routed the enemy's division with his numerous cavalry and light artillery; what is still more, he would have been enabled

* He never recovered from these wounds, and died in 1819.—*Editor.*

to attack the divisions of the English army on their march, and while isolated on the causeways of Nivelles and Brussels.

At noon, this Marshal, having received the fresh orders which the Emperor sent him from Fleurus, marched with three divisions of infantry of the second corps, a division of light cavalry, and a division of Kellerman's cuirassiers, in all, sixteen thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and forty-four pieces of cannon, (twenty-one or twenty-two thousand men). He left the first corps, consisting of sixteen thousand infantry, General Lefebvre Desnouettes's division of light cavalry of the guard, and a division of Kellerman's cuirassiers, forming a total of sixteen thousand infantry, four thousand five hundred cavalry, and sixty-four pieces of cannon in reserve before Gosselies, to observe Fleurus and secure his retreat. His skirmishers commenced firing at two, but it was not until three o'clock, when the cannonade of the battle of Ligny was heard, that he fairly attacked the enemy. The Prince of Orange, and his division, was very soon overthrown; but it was supported by the division of the Duke of Brunswick, and the fifth English division, which arrived in great haste and bad order. These two divisions had set out from Brussels at ten o'clock in the morning, and marched eight leagues; they had neither artillery nor cavalry. The contest was warmly renewed; the enemy had the superiority as to numbers, for the second line of Marshal Ney was three leagues in the rear; but the artillery and cavalry of the French were much more numerous. These troops, repulsed like those of Nassau, left many dead on the field, and amongst others, the reigning Prince of Brunswick. The forty-second, or Highland regiment of Picton's division, having formed into a square to sustain a charge of cuirassiers, was broken through and cut to pieces; its colonel killed, and colours taken. The French sharpshooters had already reached the farm of Quatre Bras, when the first division of the English guards, and Alten's division, the 3rd, arrived, marching in double quick time, on the causeway of Nivelles. These divisions were also without artillery or cavalry. It was then that Marshal Ney felt the want of his second line. He sent for it; but the troops could not reach the field of battle before eight; and it was

now six o'clock, and therefore too late. However, the Marshal fought with his usual intrepidity, and his troops covered themselves with glory. The enemy, although double as to infantry, continuing to be very inferior in artillery and cavalry, could not make any progress, but he profited by the wood which flanked his position, and kept it until night. Marshal Ney took up his head-quarters at Frasne, a thousand toises from Quatre Bras, with his line of battle, at the distance of two cannon shots from the enemy's army. He was joined by the first corps, commanded by Count d'Erlon; the arrival of which was retarded half an hour only, by the movement towards St. Amand. The loss of the Anglo-Belgian army was by the official returns, estimated at nine thousand men. The loss of the French army was three thousand four hundred men. This disproportion of losses can easily be accounted for; the Anglo-Belgian army remained *en masse*, from three o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening, under the grape shot of fifty pieces of cannon, which did not cease firing the whole of that time.

The Emperor visited the field of battle, and caused every assistance to be given to the wounded. The loss of the Prussians was enormous. Six of their dead bodies were seen for one of the French: a great number of the wounded who had received no medical aid were succoured; all the pages, and many officers having remained to attend them.

BATTLE OF MOUNT ST. JEAN.

During the night, the Emperor gave all the necessary orders for the battle of next day, although every thing indicated that it would not take place. During the four days that hostilities had continued, he had, by the most skilful manœuvres, surprised the enemy's armies, gained a brilliant victory, and separated the two armies. This was much for his glory, but not enough for the situation in which he was placed. The three hours delay which the left (under Ney) had experienced in its movements, prevented him from attacking, as he intended, the Anglo-Belgian army, in the afternoon of the 17th; which would have crowned his campaign. As things now were, it was probable that the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher would profit by the night to cross the forest of Soignes, and unite before Brussels; after this junction, which might be effected before nine o'clock in the morning,

morning, the position of the French army would become extremely critical! The two armies would then be reinforced by all the forces left in their rear: six thousand English were disembarked at Ostend within a few days; these troops returned from America. The French army could not hazard crossing the forest of Soignes, to encounter more than double its force, already in position; nevertheless, the other armies, Russian, Austrian, Bavarian, &c. were about to pass the Rhine, and march on the Marne; while the fifth corps, left for the defence of Alsace, was only twenty thousand strong!

Full of meditation on these important subjects, the Emperor went out on foot, at one o'clock in the morning, accompanied by his Grand Marshal; his design was to follow the English army in its retreat, and to endeavour to attack it, notwithstanding the obscurity of the night, as soon as it should commence its march. He visited the whole line of main guards. The forest of Soignes appeared like one continued blaze; the horizon between that forest, Braine-la-Leude, the farms of La Belle Alliance and La Haye, were resplendent with the fires of numerous bivouacs; the most profound silence reigned. The Anglo-Belgian army was wrapt in sleep, owing to the fatigues which it had undergone on the preceding days. Arrived near the wood of Hougoumont, he heard the noise of a column in march: it was then half past two o'clock; so that the rear-guard ought to quit its position, if the enemy was in retreat. This illusion was short—the noise ceased, and rain fell in torrents. Several officers, sent to reconnoitre, and others who returned to head-quarters at half past three, confirmed the opinion, that the Anglo-Belgian army had made no movement. At four o'clock the scouts brought in a peasant, who had served as a guide to a brigade of English cavalry, which went to take position on the left, at the village of Ohain. Two Belgian deserters, who had just quitted their regiment, reported that their army were preparing for battle, and that no retrograde movement had taken place; that Belgium prayed for the success of the Emperor; while the English and the Prussians were equally unpopular there.

The British General could have done nothing more contrary to the interests of his party and of his nation, or to the general spirit of this campaign, and

even to the most obvious rules of war, than to remain in the position which he occupied. He had in his rear the defiles of the forest of Soignes, so that, if beaten, retreat was impossible!

The French troops bivouacked in the midst of a deep mud, and the officers thought it impossible to give battle on the following day; the grounds were so moistened that the artillery and the cavalry could not possibly manœuvre in them, and it would require twelve hours of fine weather to dry them. The dawn having begun to appear, the Emperor returned to his head-quarters, full of satisfaction at the great fault committed by the enemy's General; though very apprehensive that the bad weather would prevent him from profiting by it. But the atmosphere became more clear, and at five o'clock he perceived some feeble rays of that sun, which, before setting, was to witness the ruin of his opponents—the British oligarchy would be overthrown!—France was about to rise again,—more glorious, powerful, and grand than ever!

The forces shewn by the enemy were estimated differently; but the officers most accustomed to these calculations considered them, including the corps of flankers, to amount to ninety thousand men, which agreed with the general accounts that were given. The French army was only sixty-nine thousand strong, but, still, victory appeared to be certain. These sixty-nine thousand men were good troops; whereas in the enemy's army, the English only, amounting to forty thousand at most, could be reckoned as such.

At eight o'clock the Emperor's breakfast was served up: to this many general officers sat down. "The enemy's army," said Napoleon, "is superior to our's by nearly a fourth; there are, notwithstanding, ninety chances in our favour to ten against us." "Without doubt," said Marshal Ney, who had just entered, "if the Duke of Wellington were simple enough to wait for your Majesty; but I come to announce that his columns are already in full retreat, and are disappearing in the forest of Soignes." "You have seen badly," replied the Emperor; "it is too late, he would expose himself to certain ruin by such a step; he has thrown the dice—they are now for us!!!" At this moment officers of artillery, who had rode over the plain, stated that the artillery could manœuvre, although with difficulty, which would be greatly diminished

diminished in an another hour. The Emperor mounted immediately, and went to the skirmishes opposite La Haye Sainte, again reconnoitred the enemy's line, and directed the General of Engineers, Haxo, a confidential officer, to approach it nearer in order to ascertain whether any redoubts were thrown up, or entrenchments made; the General soon returned to report that he had observed no trace of fortifications. After some moments' reflection, the Emperor dictated the order of battle, which was taken down by two Generals, seated on the ground. The aide-de-camps took it to the different corps, already under arms, full of impatience and of ardour. The army now moved forward, marching in eleven columns.

These eleven columns were to be arranged as follows; viz.—four to form the first line, four the second, and three the third. The four columns of the first line were, that of the left, formed by the cavalry of the second corps; the second, formed by three divisions of infantry of the second corps; the third, by the four divisions of infantry of the first corps; the fourth, by the light cavalry of the first corps.

At nine o'clock, the heads of the four columns forming the first line arrived where they had to form: at the same time were perceived, at unequal distances, the seven other columns, which descended from the heights; they were in march; the trumpets and drums sounded "to the field," and the bands struck up airs which recalled the memory of a hundred victories to the minds of the soldiery:—the earth seemed proud of being trodden by such intrepid combatants! The spectacle was really magnificent; and the enemy, so placed as to be able to distinguish every individual, must have been also struck with the sight:—the army would even have appeared double its real number, viewed from Mont St. Jean.

The eleven columns formed with so much precision that no confusion whatever arose, each occupying the place designated for it in the mind of the Chief: never had such large masses moved with so much facility. The light cavalry of the second corps, which formed the first column of the left of the first line, formed in three lines, across the causeway from Nivelles to Brussels, nearly at the height of the first woods at Hougoumont, scouring all the plain by the left, having main guards near Braine-la-Leude, and its

battery of light artillery on the causeway of Nivelles. The second corps, under the orders of General Reille, occupied the space comprehended between the causeway of Nivelles and that of Charleroi, embracing an extent of from nine hundred to one thousand toises; the division of Prince Jerome keeping the left, near the causeway of Nivelles and the wood of Hougoumont; General Foy the centre, and General Bachelu the right, which extended to the causeway of Charleroi, near the farm of La Belle Alliance. Each division of infantry formed two lines; the second at thirty toises from the first, having its artillery in front, and its parks of artillery in the rear, near the causeway of Nivelles. The third column, formed by the first corps, and commanded by Lieutenant-General Count d'Erlon, formed its left towards La Belle Alliance, on the right of the causeway leading to Charleroi, and its right opposite the farm of La Haye, where the enemy's left was posted. Each division of infantry formed two lines, the artillery filling up the intervals of the brigades. The light cavalry, which formed the fourth column, spread to the right, observing La Haye and Frichermont, and having small parties to watch the enemies flankers; the artillery was placed on its right.

The Emperor now went through the ranks; it would be difficult to express the enthusiasm which animated all the soldiers; the infantry elevated their caps on their bayonets; the cuirassiers, dragoons, and light cavalry, their helmets on their sabres. Victory appeared certain; the old soldiers, who had been present at so many engagements, admired this new order of battle; they endeavoured to penetrate the ulterior views of their general, discussing the point and manner of the attack. Meanwhile, the Emperor gave his last orders, and proceeded at the head of his guard, to the summit of the six W's, on the heights of Rossome, where he dismounted. From this spot, he had a complete view of the two armies, as the prospect extended far to the right and left of the field of battle.

A battle is a dramatic action, which has a commencement, a middle, and an end. The order of battle which the two armies assume, the first movements which are made to engage, may be called the opening scene: the counter movements, made by the party attacked, form the under plot; this leads to new incidents;

incidents; these bring on the crisis, from which proceeds the catastrophe. As soon as the attack by the centre of the French army was unmasked, the enemy's general would execute counter movements, either by his wings or behind his line, to make a diversion, or hasten to the succour of the point attacked. None of these movements could escape the experienced eye of the French Monarch, from the central position in which he placed himself; while he had all the reserve at hand, to send them where the urgency of the circumstances might happen to require their presence.

Marshal Ney, obtained the honour of commanding the grand attack of the centre; it could not be confided to a braver man, or one more accustomed to this species of service. He sent one of his aide-de-camps, to say that every thing was ready, and that he only waited for the signal. Before giving it, the Emperor wished to throw a last glance over the whole field of battle, and perceived, in the direction of St. Lambert, a dark mass, which appeared to him like troops. Upon this, he asked the Adjutant General what he saw near St. Lambert? "I think, I see five or six thousand men," replied the General, "it is probably a detachment from Grouchy." All the glasses of the staff were now fixed in that direction. The weather was rather foggy. As it generally happens on such occasions, some maintained, that there were no troops, but merely trees which were perceived; while others said, columns were in position there; some, that they were troops in march. In this state of uncertainty, and without further deliberation, he sent for Lieutenant General Daumont, and ordered him to scour the right with his divisions of light cavalry, and that of General Subervie; also to communicate promptly with the troops which were moving on St. Lambert, to effect a junction if they belonged to Marshal Grouchy, and keep them in check if they were enemies. These three thousand cavalry had only to make a wheel to the right by fours to be out of the lines; they marched rapidly, and in the greatest order, to a distance of three thousand toises, and formed in line of battle on the right of the army.

A quarter of an hour afterwards, an officer of chasseurs brought in a Prussian black hussar, who had been just made prisoner by the scouts of a flying column of three hundred chasseurs, which

scoured the country between Wavres and Planchenoit. This hussar was the bearer of a letter; he was also very intelligent, and gave all the information that was required. The column perceived at St. Lambert, was the advanced guard of the Prussian General, Bulow, who was coming up with thirty thousand men; this was the fourth Prussian corps which had not been engaged at Ligny. The letter was in fact the announcement of its arrival, and a request from Bulow to the Duke of Wellington for ulterior orders. The hussar said, that he had been at Wavres in the morning; that the three other Prussian corps were encamped there; that they had passed the night between the 17th and 18th in that town: that there were no French troops before them; that he supposed the French had marched on Planchenoit; that a patrol of his regiment had during the night approached within two leagues of Wavres, without meeting any French corps whatever. The Duke of Dalmatia immediately dispatched the intercepted letter, and the report of the hussar to Marshal Grouchy, to whom he reiterated the order to march without a moment's delay on St. Lambert, and to take General Bulow's corps in the rear. It was now eleven o'clock, the officer had only to proceed four or five leagues to reach Marshal Grouchy, and he promised to be with that officer in an hour. By the last communication received from the Marshal, it was known that he meant to march on Wavres at day-break; but from Gembloux, where he was, to Wavres, the distance is only three leagues. Whether he had received the orders which had been dispatched to him in the night from the imperial quarters or not, he should most certainly have been engaged at this very time before Wavres. Those who reconnoitred in that direction saw no troops; not a gun was heard. A short time after, General Daumont sent to say, that some well mounted scouts that preceded him, had met patrols of the enemy in the vicinity of St. Lambert; and that there was no doubt of the troops which were seen there being enemies; that he had sent chosen patrols in various directions, to communicate with Marshal Grouchy, for the purpose of conveying orders and reports.

The Emperor immediately caused an order to be given to Count Lobau to cross the causeway of Charleroi, by a change of direction to the right by divisions, and to support the light cavalry towards

towards St. Lambert; choosing a good intermediate position, where he might with ten thousand men, check thirty thousand if it became necessary; to attack the Prussians briskly, as soon as he should hear the first cannon shots of the troops, which Marshal Grouchy had detached in their rear. These orders were instantly executed. It was of the highest importance that the movement of Count de Lobau should be made without delay.

Marshal Grouchy should have detached six or seven thousand men from Wavres on St. Lambert, these would find themselves compromised, since Bulow's corps was thirty thousand strong, just as the latter corps would have been compromised and destroyed, if, at the moment of his being attacked in the rear by seven thousand men, he was attacked in front by a man of Count de Lobau's character. Seventeen or eighteen thousand French, thus disposed and commanded, were far superior to thirty thousand Prussians: but these events caused some change in the first plan of the Emperor; he found himself enfeebled on the field of battle by ten thousand men, whom he was obliged to send against General Bulow. He no longer had more than fifty-nine thousand men against ninety thousand; while the enemy's army, against which he was engaged, had just been augmented by thirty thousand men, already ranged in the field of battle; thus placing one hundred and twenty thousand men against sixty-nine thousand; or two to one. "*We had ninety chances for us this morning,*" said he, to the Duke of Dalmatia, "*the arrival of Bulow makes us lose thirty; but we have still sixty against forty: and if Grouchy repairs the horrible fault which he committed yesterday, by amusing himself at Gembloux, and sends on his detachment with rapidity, the victory will be thereby only the more decisive, for the corps of Bulow must in that case be entirely lost.*"

It was noon, the skirmishers were engaged on all the line, but there was no real action, except on the left in the wood, and at the castle of Hougomont. The troops of General Bulow were still stationary beyond the extreme right; they appeared to form and wait till their artillery passed the defile. The Emperor sent an order to Marshal Ney to commence the fire of his batteries; take possession of the farm of La Haye Sainte, and to post a division of infantry

there, to occupy the village; also to possess himself of La Haye, and to drive the enemy from it, in order to intercept all communication between the Anglo-Belgian army and Bulow's corps. Eighty guns soon made an immense havoc over all the left of the English line, one of its divisions was entirely destroyed by round and case shot. Whilst this attack was unmasked, the Emperor attentively observed the movements of the enemy's general; he made none on his right; but the Emperor perceived, that he prepared a grand charge of cavalry on the left, and he galloped to the spot. The charge had taken place; it had repulsed a column of infantry which advanced on the low ground, taken two eagles, and disorganized seven pieces of cannon: a brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers from the second line were ordered to charge the enemy's cavalry. It did so with cries of "*Long live the Emperor!*" The English cavalry was broken, and the greater part of it remained on the field; the guns were also retaken, and the infantry protected. Many charges of infantry and cavalry followed; the detail of them belongs more to the history of each regiment, than to the general history of the battle, in which such recitals, if multiplied, would create confusion; it is enough to say, that after three hours fighting, the farm of La Haye Sainte, in spite of the resistance of the Scotch regiments, was occupied by the French infantry; while the end, which the French General had in view was obtained. The sixth and fifth English division were destroyed, General Picton remained dead on the field.

During this combat, the Emperor rode through the line of infantry of the first corps, the line of cavalry of Milhaud's cuirassiers, and that of the guard in a third line, in the middle of the discharges of the enemy's artillery and musketry: the brave General Devaux, commanding the artillery of the guard, was killed at his side by a cannon shot; a most serious loss, and above all at this moment, because he knew the positions occupied by the reserves of the artillery of the guard, consisting of ninety-six guns, better than any other officer in the army. The General of brigade, Lallemand, succeeded him, and was also wounded shortly after.

Disorder had by this time prevailed in the English army; the baggage, waggon train, and wounded, seeing the French approach the causeway of Brussels, and the principal opening of the forest,

forest, hastened to effect their retreat in the greatest confusion: all the English, Belgians, and Germans, who had been sabred by the cavalry, precipitated themselves on Brussels. It was now four o'clock. The victory would have been then decided, had not General Bulow's corps effected its powerful diversion. At two o'clock in the afternoon, General Daumont had given notice, that Bulow formed in three columns; and that the French riflemen skirmished, retiring before the enemy, which appeared to him as being very numerous; he estimated it to be more than forty thousand strong; adding, moreover, that his best mounted scouts had traversed several leagues in different directions, but had brought no news of Marshal Grouchy; that his assistance was, therefore, not to be depended on. About this time, the Emperor received a most disagreeable piece of news from Gembloux. Marshal Grouchy instead of setting out from that place at the first dawn of day, as he announced in his dispatch of two o'clock in the morning, had not quitted his camp, there at ten o'clock.

The cannonade between general Bulow and Count de Lobau soon commenced. The Prussian army marched in echelon, the centre in front. Its line of battle was perpendicular to the right flank of the French army, and parallel to the causeway from La Haye Sainte to Planchenoit. The echelon of the centre unmasked a battery of thirty guns; the artillery opposed to it an equal number. After a cannonade of an hour, Count de Lobau perceiving, that the first echelon was not supported, marched to the spot, pierced through, and repulsed it; but the two other lines which appeared to have been retarded by the bad roads, rallied the 1st echelon, and, without endeavouring to break through the French line, sought to outflank it by a wheel to the left, in line. Count de Lobau, apprehensive lest he should be turned, executed his retreat upon the army, by the alternate movement. The fire of the Prussian batteries doubled; sixty pieces of cannon were counted; the balls fell on the causeway, in front, and the rear of La Belle Alliance, where the Emperor was standing with his guard; it was the army's line of operation. At this most important moment, the enemy had approached so near, that his case-shot ploughed up the causeway; the Em-

peror then ordered General Duhesme, who commanded the young guard, to march on the right of the sixth corps, with his two brigades of infantry, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. A quarter of an hour afterwards, that formidable battery commenced its fire; the French artillery soon acquired the superiority, as it was better served, and more advantageously placed. As soon as the young guard was engaged, the movement of the Prussians appeared to be checked; undulations were observed in their lines; but they continued still to prolong it towards their left, outflanking the French right, as far as Planchenoit; Lieutenant General Morand then moved, with four battalions of the old guard, and sixteen pieces of cannon, to the right of the young guard; two regiments of the old guard took post in front of Planchenoit; the Prussian line being outflanked, General Bulow was repulsed; his left made a movement backward, converged, and, by degrees, all his line fell back. The Count de Lobau, General Duhesme, and General Morand, marched forward; they soon occupied the positions which the artillery of General Bulow had left. Not only had that General exhausted his attack, unmasked all his reserves; but, having at first advanced, he was now in retreat. The Prussian bullets no longer reached the causeway of Charleroi, nor did they even come near the positions previously occupied by Count de Lobau; it was now seven o'clock.

Two hours had elapsed since the Count d'Erlon had taken possession of La Haye, outflanked all the English left, and the right of General Bulow. The light cavalry of the first corps, pursuing the enemy's infantry on the flat of La Haye, had been brought back by a body of cavalry superior in number. Count Milhaud now ascended the height with his cuirassiers, giving warning to General Lefebvre Desnouettes, who immediately commenced a hot fire to sustain him. This happened at five o'clock; and the moment at which the attack made by General Bulow was most menacing. Far from being kept in check, he constantly shewed new troops, who continued to extend his line on the right. The English cavalry was repulsed by the intrepid cuirassiers and the chasseurs of the guard. They abandoned all the field of battle between La Haye Sainte and Mont St. Jean, which the whole of their left had occupied; and were

were deprived of all means of retreating on their right. On seeing these brilliant charges, cries of victory were heard all over the field, upon which, the Emperor said, "it is too soon by an hour; but we must support what is done." He then sent an order to the cuirassiers of Kellerman, which were still in position on the left, to move briskly, to support the cavalry on the low grounds. At this moment, General Bulow threatened the flank and rear of the army; it was important not to make any retrograde movement, and to maintain the position, although premature, which the cavalry had taken. This rapid movement of three thousand cuirassiers who defied under the cannonade of the Prussians, shouting, "live the Emperor!" made a happy diversion at this critical moment. The cavalry marched as in pursuit of the English army; but the army of General Bulow still made some progress on the flank and rear. The soldiers and officers sought to divine in the look of the Chief, whether they were conquerors or in danger; while he breathed nothing but confidence. It was the fiftieth regular battle in which Napoleon had commanded within twenty years. In the meantime the division of heavy cavalry of the guard, under the orders of General Guyot, which was in the second line, behind Kellerman's cuirassiers, followed at a brisk trot, to the low ground. On perceiving this movement, the Emperor sent Count Bertrand to recall it; for it was his reserve: when that General arrived, it was already engaged, so that a retrograde movement would have been dangerous. Thus, did the Emperor find himself deprived of his reserve of cavalry ever since five o'clock; that reserve, which, properly employed, had so often given him the victory: while these twelve thousand select horse performed prodigies of valour; overthrowing all the more numerous cavalry of the enemy, which wished to oppose them, broke through many squares of infantry, disorganized their ranks, took possession of sixty pieces of cannon, and seized six stands of colours in the midst of the squares; these trophies were presented to the Emperor at La Belle Alliance, by three chasseurs of the guard, and three cuirassiers. The enemy believed the battle lost a second time; and he must have now seen with affright how many difficulties which the field of battle he had chosen, was about to throw in the

way of his retreat. Ponsonby's brigade, charged by the red lancers of the guard, commanded by General Colbert, was broken through, and its General was killed by several lance wounds. The Prince of Orange was severely wounded, and on the point of being taken; but the brave cavalry not being supported by a strong mass of infantry, which was still retained by General Bulow's attack, was obliged to confine itself to preserving the field of battle which it had conquered. At length, about seven o'clock, when Bulow's attack was repulsed, and the cavalry still maintained itself on the flat, whence the enemy had been driven, the victory was gained; sixty-nine thousand French had beaten one hundred and twenty thousand men. Joy was on every countenance, and hope in every heart.

Marshal Blucher had passed the night of the 17th at Wavres, with the fourth corps of his army, forming seventy-five thousand men. Informed that the Duke of Wellington had decided to receive battle in front of the forest of Soignes, if he could reckon on his co-operation, the Prussian General detached his fourth corps in the morning; it passed the Dyle at Limate, and formed at St. Lambert. This corps was entire; it was the one which had not been engaged at Ligny. The light cavalry of Blucher, which scoured the country two leagues round his camp at Wavres, had, as yet, no news of Marshal Grouchy; at seven o'clock in the morning it saw some piquets of flankers only. Blucher therefore concluded, that all the army was united before Mont St. Jean; he put the second corps, commanded by General Pirch in motion, and which was reduced to eighteen thousand men. He marched himself with the first corps, General Zieten's, reduced to thirteen thousand men, and left General Thielman with the third corps in position at Wavres.

His two columns, thirty-one thousand strong, opened the communication between General Bulow and the English. The former, who was in full retreat, halted; Wellington, who had been in a state of the utmost despair, and seen nothing before him but the prospect of certain defeat, now saw his safety. The brigade of English cavalry which was at Ohain rejoined him, as well as a part of the fourth division of flankers of the right.

The French army, sixty-nine thousand strong,

strong, which at seven o'clock in the evening, was victorious over an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, occupied half the field of battle of the Anglo-Belgians, and had repulsed Bulow's corps; saw the victory snatched from it by the arrival of Marshal Blücher with thirty thousand six hundred fresh troops, a re-inforcement which increased the allied army in line, to nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men; that is to say, in a proportion of two and a half against one.

As soon as Bulow's attack had been repulsed, the Emperor gave orders to General Drouot, acting Assistant-Major General of the Guard, to rally all his men, before the farm of La Belle Alliance, where he was with eight battalions ranged in two lines, the remaining eight having marched to support the young guard and defend Planchenoit. In the mean time, the cavalry, which continued to occupy the position on the low ground, whence it commanded all the field of battle, having perceived the movement of General Bulow, but confiding in the reserves of the guard, which it saw ready to keep that General in check, entertained no alarm, and even loudly cheered when it saw him repulsed, waiting the arrival of the infantry of the guard to decide the victory; but it felt the greatest astonishment on perceiving the numerous columns of Marshal Blücher arrive. Some regiments made a retrograde movement; the Emperor perceived this. It was of the highest importance to restore firmness to the cavalry; and seeing that it would take him a quarter of an hour more to rally all his guard, he put himself at the head of four battalions, and advanced on the left, in front of La Haye Sainte, sending aide-de-camps along the whole line, to announce the arrival of Marshal Grouchy, and to say, that, with a little firmness, victory would soon be decided in our favour. General Reille reunited all his corps, on the left, in front of the castle of Hougoumont, and prepared his attack; it was important that all the guard should engage at once, but the eight other battalions were still behind. Influenced by events, seeing the cavalry disconcerted, and that a reserve of infantry was necessary to support it, he ordered General Friant to march with these four battalions of the middle guard, to meet the enemy's attack; the cavalry recovered itself, and marched forward with its accustomed intrepidity. The

four battalions of the guard repulsed all whom they met—charges of cavalry carried terror into the English ranks. Ten minutes after, the other battalions of the guard arrived; the Emperor ranged them by brigades, two battalions in line and two in column, on the right and left, the second brigade in echelon, which united the advantage of the two orders. The sun was set;—General Friant, wounded, passed by at this moment; he said, that all went on well, that the enemy appeared to form a rear-guard to support his retreat, but that he would be entirely broken as soon as the rest of the guard attacked him. For this, a quarter of an hour was necessary. It was at this very moment that Marshal Blücher arrived at La Haye, and overthrew the French corps by which it was defended, namely, the fourth division of the first corps; it fled in disorder, after opposing a slight resistance. Although it was attacked by a quadruple force, if it had shown the least resolution, thrown itself into the houses, or pierced their ranks, Marshal Blücher would not, as it was night, have had time to force the village. It was there that the cry, *sauve qui peut*, is said to have been first heard. The opening made, and line broken by the want of vigour of the troops at La Haye, the enemy's cavalry inundated the field of battle. General Bulow marched forward—the Count de Lobau shewed great firmness. The crowd soon became so great, that it was necessary to order the guard, which had formed for an advance, to change its front. This movement was executed with order; the guard faced about, the left towards La Haye Sainte, and the right towards La Belle Alliance, showing its front to the Prussians, and the attack of La Haye; immediately after, each battalion formed a square. The four squadrons on duty charged the Prussians. At that moment the brigade of English cavalry which arrived from Ohain, marched forward. These two thousand horse penetrated between General Reille and the guard. The disorder now became dreadful throughout the field of battle: the Emperor had only to put himself under the protection of one of the squares of the guard. If General Guyot's division of cavalry of reserve, which followed Kellerman's cuirassiers to engage the enemy, without an order, had not done so, it would have repulsed this charge, prevented the English cavalry from penetrating on the

the field of battle, and the foot-guards would then have been able to check the efforts of the enemy. General Bulow marched by his left, always outflanking the field of battle. The night greatly augmented the disorder, and operated as a bar to every thing. Had it been day-light, so that the troops could have seen the Emperor, they would have rallied; whereas nothing could be done in the obscurity of the night. The guard retreated, the fire of the enemy was already but four hundred toises in the rear of the army, and the causeways cut off. The Emperor, with his staff, remained a long time on a small elevation with the regiments of the guard. Four pieces of cannon which were planted there, kept up a brisk fire on the plain, the last discharge wounded Lord Uxbridge, general of the English cavalry. By this time there was no longer a moment to lose; the Emperor could not retreat, except through the fields: cavalry, artillery, infantry, all were confusedly mingled together. The staff gained the little town of Genappe, hoping that it might be able to rally a rear-guard there, but the disorder was horrible; all its efforts were made in vain. It was now eleven o'clock; there being no possibility of organising a plan of defence, the Emperor placed his hopes in Girard's division, the third of the second corps, which he had left on the field of Ligny, and to which he had sent an order to march on Quatre Bras, to support the retreat.

Never did the French army fight better than it did on this occasion; it performed prodigies of valour; and the superiority of the troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery over the enemy was such, that had not Blucher arrived with his second corps of Prussians, the victory over the Anglo-Belgian army would have been complete, though aided by Bulow's thirty thousand Prussians; that is to say, it would have been gained by sixty-nine thousand men opposed to nearly double their number; for the enemy's troops in the field, before Blucher's arrival, amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men.

The loss of the Anglo-Belgian army, and that of Bulow's corps, was much greater during the battle, than on our side; and the losses which the French sustained in the retreat, though very considerable, as six thousand of them were made prisoners, did not, when added to it, amount to those sustained

by the allies during the four days which had elapsed, since the commencement of hostilities. The allies, by their own accounts, lost sixty thousand men; viz. eleven thousand three hundred English; three thousand five hundred Hanoverians; eight thousand Belgians, troops of Nassau, Brunswick, &c.; those of the Anglo-Belgian army amounted to twenty-two thousand eight hundred: to which add thirty-eight thousand Prussians:—this makes a general total of sixty thousand eight hundred men. The losses of the French, including those sustained during the route, and till their arrival at the gates of Paris, was forty-one thousand men.

The imperial guard supported its former reputation; but it found itself engaged under the most unfavourable circumstances; being out-flanked on the right, while the left was inundated with enemies, and those who fled from the field when it began to enter into line. Had this body been able to fight with its flanks supported, it would have repulsed the united efforts of the two allied armies. During more than four hours, twelve thousand French cavalry were masters of a part of the enemy's field of battle; fought all their infantry, and eighteen thousand of their cavalry, who were repulsed in every charge. Lieutenant General Duhesme, an old soldier of the greatest bravery, and covered with wounds, was made prisoner, when endeavouring to rally a rear guard. The Count de Lobau was taken under similar circumstances. General Cambronne of the guard, remained on the field severely wounded. Out of twenty-four English generals, twelve were killed or badly wounded: and the Dutch lost three generals. General Duhesme, although a prisoner, was assassinated on the 19th by a Brunswick hussar: this crime remained unpunished. He was an intrepid soldier, an excellent general—firm and unshaken in good as well as in bad fortune.

THE MS. FROM ST. HELENA.
Reasons dictated in Answer to the Question, whether the Publication, entitled "The Manuscript from St. Helena," printed at London in 1817, is the Work of Napoleon or not?

I. I obtained a Lieutenancy at the commencement of the Revolution. (p. 4.)
I. Napoleon entered in quality of second-lieutenant into the regiment of La Fere, in October 1735, and joined that regiment at Valence, in Dauphiny. II.

II. *I was employed in the army of the Alps. (p. 7.)*

II. Napoleon was never employed in the army of the Alps, and he never was upon Monte Genevre.

III. *Because it obtained the rank of captain for me. (p. 7.)*

III. Napoleon was promoted to be a captain in 1789, four years before the commencement of the war.

IV. *I made known my plan to Barras. (p. 10.)*

IV. Napoleon, chief of a battalion of artillery, commanded that corps at the siege of Toulon. He was not at all acquainted then with Barras, who, at that time was either employed upon a mission at Marseilles, or with the army of Italy. The representative of the people, who first distinguished and supported by his authority the plans which succeeded in effecting the capture of Toulon, was called Gasparin, deputy for Orange, a very warm conventionalist, an old captain of dragoons; a man greatly enlightened, and who had received an excellent education. He was the deputy who first divined the great military talents of the commandant of artillery. It was not until the well-known day of Vendémiaire that Napoleon was united with Barras.

V. *A general but without employment I went to Paris. (p. 11.)*

V. Napoleon never was without employment. After the siege of Toulon, he was named commandant of the artillery of the army of Italy, and directed that army: the execution of his plans procured to France the capture of Saorgio, Oreille, the Col de Tende, and Ormea. In a similar manner he directed the army of Italy, in October, in its movements upon the Bormida, at the action of Dego and the capture of Savona. In February 1795, he commanded at Toulon the artillery of the maritime expedition, destined first for Corsica, and afterwards for Rome. He recommended that the convoy should not sail until the French squadron had driven off the English one; which gave rise to the naval action at Noli, where the Caira was taken, and the French squadron returned. The maritime expedition was countermanded. During this time, by means of his influence over the minds of the gunners, he appeased an insurrection at the arsenal, and saved the lives of the representatives Mariette and Chambon. In May 1795, at the work of Ombri, he was placed upon the

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list as general of infantry, and to serve in the army of La Vendée; but this was to continue so only until there was a vacancy in the corps of artillery. He went to Paris, and refused to serve in the army of La Vendée. About ten days afterwards, however, Kellerman having been beaten on the coast of Genoa, and the army of Italy obliged to retreat, Napoleon was required by the Committee of Public Safety, then composed of Sieyes, De la Tourneur, and Pontecoulant, to draw up instructions for that army. Shortly afterwards arrived the 13th Vendémiaire, and he commanded in chief the army of the interior at Paris.

VI. *A handful of men, and two pieces of cannon. (p. 12.)*

VI. It is notorious, that, on the 13th Vendémiaire, the convention had 6,000 men, and 30 pieces of cannon to defend them.

VII. *The army of Italy, "était en rebut." (p. 15.)* [Synonymous with being dilapidated, or the refuse of an army.]

VII. Napoleon was called to the chief command of the army of Italy, by the desire of the officers and soldiers who had executed his plan in 1793 at Toulon, in 1794 and 1785 in the Comté de Nice, as already stated. This army cost a great deal of money, and the treasury was empty; a strange kind of "*rebut*," certainly, to be appointed commander-in-chief of a frontier and a large army!

VIII. *By good fortune, they surrendered even more shamefully than I could have flattered myself. (p. 22.)*

VIII. Malta could not have held out against a bombardment of twenty-four hours. It had certainly immense physical powers of resistance, but no moral ones.

IX. *On my return to Egypt, I received newspapers by the way of Tunis. (p. 23.)*

After the battle of Aboukir, on the 3d of August 1799, Sir Sidney Smith sent English newspapers, of the months of April and May, to Alexandria, in which were mentioned the disasters of the armies of the Rhine and of Italy at the commencement of the campaigns of 1799.

X. *Any general was good enough to sign a capitulation, which time would render inevitable; and I departed without any other design than that of re-appearing at the head of the armies, to bring back victory again to them. (p. 24.)*

X. Napoleon returned to France: 1st. Because he was authorised to do so by

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his

his instructions. 2d. Because his presence was necessary to the republic. 3d. Because the army of the east, victorious and numerous, had no longer an enemy before it, and the first object of the expedition had been fulfilled. The second object could not be obtained as long as the Republic was beaten upon the frontiers, and torn to pieces in the interior by anarchy. The army of the east was victorious over the armies of Syria commanded by Djezzar Pacha, which had been nearly destroyed successively at the battles of El-arish, Gaza, Jaffa, and at Acre. At the battle of Mount Tabor, from 50,000 to 60,000 Ottoman troops had been either killed, taken, or dispersed, as well as their park of artillery of 40 field pieces, all their stores, and their General-in-chief Abdallah. The French army was equally victorious over the army of Rhodes, which had perished, partly at St. Jean de Acre and partly at Aboukir, where 40,000 had been killed, taken, or dispersed, as well as their park of artillery, consisting of 32 pieces of cannon, which the vizier of the Turks, Mustapha Pacha, who commanded them. The French army was numerous, because it mustered more than 25,000 fighting men, of whom 3,500 were cavalry, and had a very considerable force of field and siege artillery. The libels have said that Napoleon ran away, and deserted his army; that he abandoned it, because it was in distress; that it had no more artillery, no more clothing, and was reduced to 8000 combatants. These false reports influenced the British cabinet so much that it refused to ratify the convention of El-arish. On the 20th of March, 1800, the Grand Vizier was beaten at Heliopolis, nine months after Napoleon's departure: and 21 months afterwards, 19,000 or 20,000 English troops disembarked at Aboukir, 6000 more arrived at Suez from India, and 20,000 Turks under the orders of the Grand Vizier and the Captain Pacha. These 45,000 men were obliged to make a campaign of six months, and to fight several battles. This expedition cost the lives of about 10,000 of the choicest troops in England as many of the Turks, and several millions sterling to the government: and had it not been for the silliness of Menou, who had succeeded by seniority after the assassination of Kleber, the expedition would have failed. Such were the consequences produced to the English nation by their having given faith to

libellers. In October 1801, nearly three years after the departure of Napoleon, the army of the east disembarked at Marseilles and Toulon, in number 24,000 men, of whom 23,000 were in a fit state to bear arms. It had been originally composed of 32,000 men, on its departure from Toulon in 1798; 4000 were left in Malta, but, in place of them, 2000 Maltese troops were incorporated with the French army, which was 30,000 strong, on its arrival in Egypt, and received there 3000 men, the remains of crews of the French squadron, and then was 33,000 strong, composed of French, Italians, Poles, and Maltese, amongst whom there were 24,000 real Frenchmen. Thus then the loss sustained was about 9000 men; from which must be deducted about 2000 who returned individually, or in convoys of wounded, which reduces the difference to 7000; counting all losses by diseases during four years, and those sustained at the assault of Alexandria, at the battles of Chebreiss, the Pyramids, the actions at Salhiéh, the campaigns of Syria, that of Desaix in Upper Egypt: in fact, during the command of Kleber at the actions of Damietta, the battle of Heliopolis, the siege of Cairo; under Menou, in the actions in the month of March 1801, against the English, and until the surrender. It is well known that Napoleon, in leaving Egypt, firmly believed it to belong for ever to France, and hoped to be able to realize the second object of the expedition.

XI. *We had our fortune to make.* (p. 31.)

XI. At the moment of crossing Mount St. Bernard, in May and June 1800, Napoleon had fought twenty pitched battles; in every one of which he had been victorious:—conquered Italy; dictated peace to Austria, at twenty leagues distance from Vienna; negotiated at Radstadt with Count Cobenzel the surrender of the strong city of Mayence; raised near 300 millions of contributions, which had served to feed, clothe, and furnish with necessaries, the army during two years; and to create the Cisalpine army; to pay the army of the Rhine, the squadron of Toulon at Brest, and even to pay some of the offices of government in Paris. He had sent to the museum 300 *chef d'œuvres*, ancient Grecian statues or pictures, *chef d'œuvres* of the age of the Medici. He had conquered Egypt; had established the French power there upon a firm basis, after

after having surmounted what was then, in Volney's opinion, the greatest difficulty, viz. to conciliate the precepts laid down in the Koran and the Moham-medan religion, with the presence of a foreign army. For six months he had been at the head of the Republic, by the choice of three millions of citizens, and of which he had re-established the finances, calmed the factions, eradicated the war in La Vendee, and moderated that in the west. After so many occurrences how is it possible to say that he had his fortune to make?

XII. *The factions appeared to be silenced.* (p. 33.)

XII. It is notorious, that, from Marengo until the INFERNAL MACHINE, that is to say during the last six months of 1800, the factions were more active than ever.

XIII. *Unfortunately, at this decisive moment, one of those chance strokes which destroy the best resolutions, presented itself to me.* (p. 46.)

XIII. The Duke d'Enghien perished because he was one of the principal actors in the conspiracy of Georges, Pichegru, and Moreau. Pichegru was arrested the 28th of February; Georges the 9th of March; and the Duke d'Enghien the 18th of March, 1804.

XIV. *My advanced guard encountered the Austrians at Ulm, and overwhelmed them.* (p. 59.)

XIV. At Ulm 80,000 Austrians were made prisoners, from 26 to 30 generals, 60 to 80 colours, and from 200 to 300 pieces of cannon. Truly, this was a notable rencontre of an advanced-guard!

XV. *The Russians retired in good order and abandoned the Austrian empire to me.* (p. 59.)

XV. The Russians made no retreat: all their park of artillery was taken. The wreck of their army which was saved had abandoned their wallets and their arms. The Emperor Alexander, surrounded in Holich, would have been made prisoner, if he had not given his word to evacuate Hungary by such daily routes as were pointed out to him.

XVI. *The campaign re-commenced. I pursued the retreat of the Russians. I arrived in Poland.* (p. 60.)

XVI. The campaign did not recommence. The French did not follow the Russians into Poland. The Russians retreated with the greatest precipitation beyond the Niemen. Peace was signed with Austria at Vienna, an agreement was likewise signed with Prussia, and

Napoleon returned to Paris. Although he was in Poland, it was not in consequence of the battle of Austerlitz, but after the campaign of Jena, and not by the route of Vienna, but by that of Berlin. There is an anachronism of a year. The battle of Austerlitz took place on the 2d of December, 1804; that of Jena the 14th of October, 1806; that of Eylau the 8th of February, 1807; that of Friedland, the 14th of June, 1807; the peace of Tilsit, the 7th of July, 1807.

XVII. *If the Russians had attacked us the morning afterwards, we would have been beaten.* (p. 26.)

XVII. The Russians had it not in their power to attack the morning after the battle of Eylau, that is to say, the 9th of February; because, at five o'clock in the evening of the 8th, they were no longer on the field of battle, which was occupied by the third corps of the French army. At three o'clock on the morning of the 9th, the Russian army was under the ramparts of Konigsberg, at six leagues distance from the field of battle, having abandoned all their wounded. This supposition therefore is inadmissible. But even supposing that the Russian army had remained upon the field of battle, and that it might have made an attack the morning after, the corps of Marshalls Ney and Bernadotte, which had taken no part in the battle, arrived during the night. If the Russians had been beaten by the French army during the absence of those two corps, how is it to be conceived that they would have been victors, after the arrival of a reinforcement of six divisions against them?

XVIII. *The youngest was still young enough to wait.* (p. 65.)

XVIII. Jerome was the cadet who, at the moment the author is speaking of was king of Westphalia, and therefore, had no occasion to wait. But the writer is continually led astray by his anachronism, in supposing that Jena was after Tilsit.

XIX. *The neutrality of Prussia would have been above all essential to me in the last campaign. In order to assure myself of it, some overtures were made to him about the cession of a part of Hanover.* (p. 74.)

Two days before the battle of Austerlitz, Count Haugwitz, first minister to the King of Prussia, came to Brunn in Moravia, where he had two audiences with Napoleon. But the advanced posts were already engaged; and Napoleon told

told him to go and await at Vienna the result of the battle, saying, "I will beat them; therefore wait and say nothing to me. To-day I will know nothing." Haugwitz was no novice in the affairs; he did not require to be told so a second time. The battle of Austerlitz took place, Napoleon returned to Vienna, and a convention was signed the 15th of December 1805, between France and Prussia, in order to tranquillize the last with respect to the treaty which her king had signed with the Emperor of Russia some weeks before. Prussia promised to disarm; and, in return, obtained a promise from France that the latter would not interfere or oppose her annexing Hanover to her possessions; and, in exchange for so doing, required Wesel, Bareuth, and Neufchatel. Prussia could not demand Hanover at Tilsit: Tilsit was after Jena. This mistake in the date throws an air of obscurity over a great part of the pamphlet.

XX. *I refused every thing, and Hanover received another destination.* (p. 76.)

XX. The convention signed with, Haugwitz at Vienna, in December 1805, only received a conditional ratification at Berlin; which being contrary to custom gave room to a discussion during the exchange of ratifications, and produced difficulties which occupied a portion of 1806; but which were finally removed. Prussia declared war in the month of October, without any reason, and not in consequence of cabinet councils, or the will of the king, but by the effervescence of passion. It is a fact, that at the end of the summer of 1806, Prussia flew to arms, deceived by a false dispatch of the Marquis Luchesi, who assured the court of Berlin, that in the treaty which had been just signed at Paris between France and Russia by the Count d'Oubril, these two great powers had entered into engagements contrary to the interests of Prussia. In the first moment of alarm, the Court of Berlin took up arms against both the Russians and French, but were not long, however, before an explanation took place, and Prussia was perfectly well assured on the part of Russia, as this last disavowed what d'Oubril had done, and refused to ratify the treaty, in which, moreover, there was no question of Prussia. After having so gallantly armed against both Russia and France, the court of Prussia finding that there was only occasion to fight with France, and being moreover assured of

assistance from Russia, made sure of victory. Some weeks afterwards, however, the battle of Jena, which took place the 14th of October 1806, decided the question.

XXI. *I was desirous of at least correcting what I had done in Prussia, by organizing the Confederation of the Rhine.* (p. 80.)

XXI. The Confederation of the Rhine preceded the battle of Jena. It was formed on the 12th of June, 1806. It was not therefore, as appears to the author, after that battle and after Tilsit, that it was organized.

XXII. *Nevertheless, after the battle of Jena, I did not feel within myself that plenitude of confidence, nor that contempt of futurity, to which I was indebted for so many of my first successes.* (p. 87.)

XXII. The capture of Magdeburg, Spandau, Custrin, and Stettin, the battle of Pultusk, the capture of Dantzic, Glogau, Breslau, Brieg, Schweidnitz, the battle of Friedland, and the conferences at Tilsit, took place in 1807, and posterior to the battle of Jena, which happened on the 14th of October, 1806. The capture of Madrid, the battles of Espinosa, Burgos, and Tudela, the operations against Sir John Moore's army, were in 1808. The battle of Alensberg, the manœuvres of Landshut, the battle of Eckmuhl, the capture of Vienna, the battles of Esling and Wagram, the peace of Presburg, were in 1809, and three years subsequent to the battle of Jena. The battle of Alensberg, the manœuvres of Landshut, and the battle of Eckmuhl, were the most brilliant and skilful manœuvres of Napoleon.

XXIII. *In revenge, the Archduke performed an excellent march: he guessed my project, and was before hand with me; he proceeded rapidly upon Vienna by the left bank of the Danube, and took up a position at the same time that I did.* (p. 99.)

XXII. The archduke Charles did nothing else than commit faults during that campaign; he was beaten when he had four times the numbers of his opponents; he did not proceed rapidly upon Vienna, but he placed himself opposite to it, which is essentially different. The plan of the French ruler was to take that capital, to disengage his arms of Italy, and to join it to his own. He succeeded in all: he took the capital, turned the army of Italy commanded by Prince John, and established

ed himself in communication with Prince Eugene by Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia.

XXIV. *The Archduke, instead of opposing at all risks Prince Eugene, allowed himself to be beaten. (p. 100.)*

XXIV. The arrival of the Viceroy upon the Danube, was signalized by the battle of Laab, which took place after the battle of Esling, and not before, as the author appears to believe. The battle of Esling took place on the 22d of May 1819; that of Raab on the 14th of June, on the anniversary of Marengo, after an interval of 22 days. It was not the Prince of Esling who debouched first at the battle of Esling, but Marshal Lasnes. The army was formed in the Isle of Lobau on the 21st, the bridges were thrown over the river on the evening of the 20th, and on the 21st the advanced-guard made themselves masters of Esling. About two o'clock *p. m.* a smart combat took place; and on the 22d the battle was fought. On both these days the field of battle remained in possession of the French army. The enemy attacked the village of Esling a great many times, and took it, but were always driven out again. At four o'clock in the evening the battle ceased, and the village remained in possession of General Rapp and Count Lobau, who by their personal bravery decided the day. However, Marshal Davoust's corps was still on the right bank, the bridges having been broken down by the sudden rise of the Danube three times within 48 hours, and having been as many times re-established by the activity of General Bertrand; but still Davoust's corps and the parks of artillery had not passed, and when the bridges were carried away a fourth time, about two o'clock in the morning, and the Danube continued to rise with great rapidity, General Bertrand signified the impossibility of re-establishing them again; upon which Napoleon ordered the army to resume its position in the island of Lobau, by crossing the branch of the Danube, which was 60 toises broad, and very deep. The Isle of Lobau is very large, and separated from the right bank by the great branch or arm of the Danube, 500 toises broad. In this position he could not be attacked. Even in the morning, several boats laden with ammunition were passed over to it. The old Guard remained in reserve during the whole of the bat-

tle of the 22d *appuyant* the village, and did not lose more than 100 men by the cannonade, and it was entire in the Island of Lobau. Prince Charles and the Austrian Generals in this day, did all that could be expected from them, and, if they had attempted to pass the arm of Dobau, they would have terminated by causing the destruction of their army, which had even then suffered an enormous loss.

XXV. *The English attempted an expedition against Antwerp, which would have succeeded, had it not been for their incapacity. (p. 101.)*

XXV. Antwerp was surrounded by bastions, its ramparts were covered with artillery; the garrison consisted of 3,000 men, recruits certainly. In the maritime arsenal there were two battalions of military, and two hundred civil workmen. The squadron, manned with from 9 to 10,000 sailors, proceeded up to the city. Antwerp was entirely out of the reach of a *coup de main*, having more than 15,000 men to defend it, besides, in a few weeks a great number of National Guards arrived. Antwerp could not have been taken unless by a siege; and in consequence of its local situation, it is extremely difficult to invest. In order to have taken that city, the English ought to have surprised it, which was impossible, after they lost so much time before Flushing, and after having failed in cutting off the squadron from the city. The fleet once in Antwerp, that city was no longer to be taken.

XXVI. *I assisted myself at this passage, because it gave me some uneasiness. (p. 102.)*

XXVI. General Bertrand threw three bridges upon piles over the Danube, and the French army, instead of passing over in one night, passed at its leisure. It was formed in the Island of Lobau.

XXVII. *The intrepidity of our troops and a bold manœuvre of Macdonald, decided the day. (p. 102.)*

XXVII. The change of front of the left wing in the rear, was effected by Prince Eugene.

XXVIII. *The Austrian army defiled in disorder, in a long plain. (p. 102.)*

XXVIII. It is evident that this passage has been dictated by a man who is unacquainted with the ground; who was not present at the battle of Wagram, and who is ignorant of the movement which

which Napoleon caused General Marmont and Marshal Davoust to make upon Znaim.

XXIX. *The court of Austria commenced by deranging my plans upon Poland, by refusing to restore what we had taken from that power.* (p. 18.)

XXIX. The writer does not know the secret articles in the treaty of alliance, concluded at Paris at the commencement of 1812.

XXX. *I retire slowly.* (p. 127.)

XXX. The author of this work has never been present at any battle. Napoleon commanded in sixty pitched battles, all of which, except two, he gained.

XXXI. *I was a prisoner.* (p. 135.)

XXXI. At Fontainebleau Napoleon had still several armies at his disposal, and all the strong-holds in France and Italy.

XXXII. *Our passage lasted five days.* (p. 146.)

XXXII. The passage from Elba to the Gulf of Juan lasted sixty hours.

XXXIII. *My pacific attitude lulled the nation asleep.* (p. 146)

XXXIII. It cannot be said that Napoleon, who for three months laboured fifteen or sixteen hours daily, was "lulled asleep." Never, in any epoch of history of nations, was there so much done in two months. It was necessary to arm and provision anew a hundred fortresses, and to repress the civil war at Marseilles, Bourdeaux, and La Vendée. The army was increased from 80,000 men to 500,000; of whom 200,000, not clothed or completely organized, were collected in the fortresses, in order to garrison them; and, by these means, render the troops of the line disposable. In June the line had 220,000 men ready for battle, and 80,000 not clothed, who were getting ready in the *depots*. These 220,000 men formed first the army of the North, composed of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps, the Imperial Guard, cavalry of the reserve,

Forming,	120,000
The third corps in Alsace, . .	25,000
The 7th at Chamberis . . .	25,000
——— La Vendée	25,000
The 4th corps of observation at Befort, for Toulouse, Bour- deaux	25,000
	220,000

The cavalry was re-mounted from about 14,000 to 40,000, the artillery from

2,000 horses to 30,000. Manufactories of arms were constructed, which surpassed by far in their products any of those which had been formed during the Revolution. The nation, far from being asleep, never manifested more energy; but the time was too short by a month. In the course of another month, the army of the line would have amounted to 80,000 men more; one half of the troops who were forming in the forts would have been able to have fallen in with the troops of the line, which would then have amounted to 400,000 men; 100,000 in the forts, and 300,000 men who were raising in the departments, and had already begun to arrive in the *depots*.

XXXIV. *I was deceived in believing that it was possible to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, "en chargeant les armes en douze temps."* (p. 147.)

Napoleon entered Paris the 20th of March in the evening: on the 24th the Count d'Artois dismissed the guard at Bethune. On the 1st of April the tri-coloured flag waved at Lisle, and all the northern parts of France. Louis XVIII. established himself at Ghent. On the 8th of April the Duc d'Angoulême passed by main force the bridge of La Drome, and entered Valence. On the 12th he was made prisoner, and was pardoned by Napoleon. On the 10th of April, Marseilles submitted, and hoisted the tri-coloured flag: on the 20th of April, 100 pieces of cannon announced to France that the Imperial flag waved over the whole extent of its territory. On the 15th of June Napoleon commenced hostilities, and passed the Sambre; that is to say, six weeks after the pacification: but it ought to have been done a month before, that is to say, on the 15th of May. However, France then flattered herself with a continuation of the peace, and the entire national opinion would have disavowed such a premature attack; and besides, the army of the line was not then sufficient to guard the forts, above all those to the northward, without great risk of losing them. It could not have been possible to have entered Belgium with more than 40,000 men. Lord Wellington and Blucher had already more than 180,000: it would have been one against four. When the attack was made, in the middle of June, it was done with 120,000 men. Lord Wellington and Blucher had about 220,000 men. Mat-
ters

ters were changed, and it was only one against two, supposing them to have united their forces. If Napoleon had deferred the attack, he would have had a stronger army, and better organized; but information had been received and credited, that the Russian and Austrian armies, 400,000 strong, would attack on the 1st of July. It was intended to beat the English and Prussian armies separately. This was well understood:—the operations of the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of June, were conducted with skill. At first, Lord Wellington and Blucher were surprised and attacked in detail:—Blucher beaten, and Lord Wellington obliged to retreat. The inconceivable sluggishness of Grouchy caused the loss of the battle of Waterloo, which 69 or 70,000 French had gained until five in the evening, against about 36,000 English, 44,000 Belgians and Hanoverians, and 30,000 Prussians, of Bulow's corps, when 32,000 of Blucher's two corps, the 1st and 4th, arrived upon the field of battle, which Grouchy had the *mal adresse* not to do. The enemy then consisted of 146,000 men against 67,000. Independent of the faults on the part of Grouchy, many other causes had great influence upon the fortune of that day. In other times, the French, although so inferior in number, would have gained the victory; which indeed, the obstinate and unyielding bravery of the English troops *alone* prevented them from obtaining. Some day or another, the other causes will be made evident to the world.

WINTER NIGHTS;

OR,

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GUTHRUN THE DANE.

Hadleigh in Suffolk, the spot whence these lucubrations are dated, is a town

of considerable antiquity, and remarkable, also, as being the burial-place of *Guthrun the Dane*, and the scene of the *Martyrdom of Rowland Taylor*.

Guthrun, *Guthrum*, or *Gormo*, the Dane, was one of those chieftains or sea-kings, who, towards the close of the ninth century, issuing from the heart of Scandinavia, carried all the horrors of the most savage warfare throughout the coasts, and even the interior of England.

Educated in the religion of Odin, the acknowledged God of slaughter and desolation, these fierce warriors conceived themselves alone entitled to happiness in another world, in proportion to the violence of their own death, and the number of the enemy whom they had slain on the field of battle.

As in their ferocity, therefore, was founded their sense of virtue, and their hope of immortality, we cannot wonder at the cruelties which marked their course. "The cruel Guthrum," says one of our oldest historians, "arrived in England, A. D. 878, at the head of an army of pagan Danes, no less cruel than himself, who, like inhuman savages, destroyed all before them with fire and sword, involving cities, towns, and villages, with their inhabitants, in devouring flames; and cutting those in pieces with their battle-axes who attempted to escape from their burning houses. The tears, cries, and lamentations of men, women, and children, made no impression on their unrelenting hearts; even the most tempting bribes, and the humblest offers of becoming their slaves, had no effect. All the towns through which they passed exhibited the most deplorable scenes of misery and desolation: as venerable old men lying with their throats cut before their own doors; the streets covered with the bodies of young men and children, without heads, legs, or arms; and of matrons and virgins, who had been first publicly dishonoured, and then put to death."

It was into the camp of this ferocious leader of piratical invasion, that our patriot king, the unrivalled Alfred, was introduced, in the disguise of a harper; a stratagem which, enabling him to detect the insecurity of his foes, and their want of discipline, led, very shortly afterwards, to their complete defeat at Eddington, in Wiltshire.

With Alfred, the first result of victory was clemency and benevolence. To Guthrun and his followers, now prostrate at his feet, he proffered not only mercy and

and forgiveness, but protection and territory, provided they would abandon Paganism, embrace Christianity, and be regulated by the laws of civilized society.

To these terms Guthrun joyfully, and as the event proved, sincerely acceded; himself and thirty of his officers being immediately baptized in the presence of Alfred. Part of his army was sent into Northumberland, and the remainder, with their chief and his retinue, settled in East Anglia, Guthrun fixing on the scite of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, as a central situation for his capital, or *heard-liege*.

Here he continued to reside and reign nearly eleven years, inviolably observing the laws and the religion of Alfred, and preserving his own people within the strict bounds of peace and good order. No stronger proof, indeed, can be given of the integrity and fidelity of Guthrun, than that no sooner had he ceased to govern, than the Danes of East Anglia showed signs of turbulence and disaffection, and took the earliest opportunity of co-operating with their countryman Hastings, in his invasion of England. A. D. 893.

Guthrun died, according to the testimony of history, a sincere convert to Christianity, about the year 889, and was buried within the ground now occupied by the present church of Hadleigh. An ornamental Gothic arch, in the wall of the south aisle, is said to mark the grave where this celebrated warrior rests. It is evidently, however, of a date some centuries posterior to the age of him over whom it is placed, and was probably designed merely to rescue from oblivion the traditionary spot of his interment.

In consequence of some repairs which in 1767, were carried on in this church, termed in the will of Dr. Pykenham, rector of Hadleigh in the reign of Henry the Seventh, *Ecclesia Sanctiæ Mariæ*, the supposed tomb of Guthrun was opened: when, deep beneath the surface, was discovered a massy grave of stone, the floor of which was tessellated with small square glazed tiles, and covered with some light blue ashes; circumstances which seem to corroborate the record, and the local appropriation of antiquity.

INSCRIPTION for the TOMB of GUTHRUN THE DANE, in St. Mary's Church, HADLEIGH.

O STAY thee, stranger; o'er this hallow'd ground

In solemn silence pause! Here sleeps the chief,
Whom Royal Alfred, with a Christian's zeal,
From deeds of savage slaughter, from the rites
Of Odin, bath'd in blood and breathing war,
Turn'd to the living God—GUTHRUN THE DANE.

Here oft, repentant of the erring course
That stain'd his dawn of manhood, bath he bow'd
His head in meekness; with a pilgrim's faith
Abjur'd the idols of his native land;
Pray'd for redeeming grace; and, sighing deep,
Dropp'd the lone tear upon his Saviour's cross;
Then, hence retiring, with a patriot's care,
Rul'd his brief realm, and kept his vow of peace.

O ye, who, 'mid the strife of battle, burn
With lust of fame or pow'r! Say, have ye felt,
E'en in the glow of conquest, when the car
In triumph bore you o'er the tented field,
Felt ye a throb of joy so keenly sweet,
Such thrilling rapture as did Guthrun feel
When, free from ruthless rage and thirst of blood,
The storm of vengeful passion lull'd to rest,
Here, prostrate at St. Mary's shrine, he felt
His heart within him yearning for his God.

Go, stranger, if perchance to thee belong
The honoured name of father, teach thy sons,
That not in deeds of rapine or of spoil,
Power's forceful arm, or vict'ry's crimson steel,
Consists the virtue or the good of man;
That, He, who bade them breathe and live alone,
Looks on the heart, alone vouchsafes to dwell
In that pure bosom, where, with Peace, reside
The sister-forms of Piety and Love.

MARTYRDOM OF DR. TAYLOR.

Rowland Taylor, D. D. and rector of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, from the year 1544 to 1554, suffered martyrdom on Aldham Common adjacent to Hadleigh, on February 9th, 1555, for his opposition to the errors of popery, and his steady adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation.

Of this great and pious character it is scarcely possible to speak in terms too laudatory. He was, in fact, the perfect model of a parish priest, and literally went about doing good.

It was not to be expected, therefore, that when the bigoted Mary ascended the throne of these realms, a man so gifted, and at the same time so popular as was Dr. Taylor, should long escape the

the arm of persecution. Scarcely, indeed, had this sanguinary woman commenced her reign, when an attempt was made to celebrate Mass by force in the parish church of Hadleigh; and in endeavouring to resist this profanation, which was planned and conducted by two of his parishioners, named Foster and Clerke, assisted by one Averth, rector of Aldham, whom they had hired for the purpose, Dr. Taylor became, of course, obnoxious to the ruling powers, an event no doubt foreseen and calculated upon by the instigators of the mischief.

A citation to appear before Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and then Lord Chancellor of England, was on the information of these wretches, the immediate result of the transaction; and, though the friends and relatives of the Doctor, earnestly advised his non-compliance, and recommended him instantly to fly, he resisted their solicitations, observing, that though he fully expected imprisonment, and a cruel death, he was determined, in a cause so good and righteous, to shrink not from his duty. "Oh, what will ye have me to do?" he exclaimed; "I am old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leadeth you; I am fully determined, with God's grace, to go to the Bishop, and to his beard, to tell him that he doth nought."

Accordingly, tearing himself from his weeping friends and flock, and accompanied by one faithful servant, he hastened to London, where, after enduring with the utmost patience and magnanimity, the virulence and abuse of Gardiner, and replying to all his accusations with a firmness and self-possession, and with a truth of reasoning which, unfortunately served but to increase the malice of his enemies, he was committed a prisoner to the King's Bench, and endured a confinement there of nearly two years.

During this long period, however, which was chiefly occupied by Dr. Taylor in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and in preaching to, and exhorting his fellow-prisoners, he had three further conferences with his persecutors. The second, which was held in the arches at Bow-church a few weeks after his commitment, terminated in his being deprived of his benefice as a married man. The third, which did not take place until

January the 22d, 1555, and was carried on, not only with the Bishop of Winchester, but with other episcopal commissioners, ended, after a long debate, in which the piety, erudition, sound sense, and Christian forbearance of the sufferer was pre-eminently conspicuous, in his re-commitment to prison, under a threat of having judgment passed upon him within a week.

This judgment was accordingly pronounced at a fourth conference on the 28th of the same month, the Bishops of Winchester, Norwich, London, Salisbury and Durham, being present; when, on the Doctor again declining to submit himself to the Roman Pontiff, he was condemned to death, and the day following removed to the Poultry Counter. Here, on the 4th of February he was visited by Bonner, Bishop of London, who, attended by his chaplain, and the necessary officers, came to degrade him. Refusing, however, to comply with this ceremony, which consisted in his putting on the vestures or mass-garments, he was compelled to submit by force, and when the Bishop, as usual, closed this disgusting mummery with his curse, Taylor nobly replied; "though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence; and yet I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you."

It was on the morning of the 5th of February, 1555, at the early hour of two o'clock, that the sheriff of London, arriving at the Counter, demanded the person of Dr. Taylor, in order that he might commence his pilgrimage towards Hadleigh, the destined place of his martyrdom. It was very dark, and they led him without lights, though not unobserved, to an inn near Aldgate. His wife,—and I shall here adopt the language of John Fox, which in this place, as in many others, is remarkable for its pathos and simplicity,—"his wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age (whom, being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old,) the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

"Now, when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, 'O my dear father;

father; mother, mother, here is my father led away.' Then cried his wife, *Rowland, Rowland*, where art thou? for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, 'dear wife, I am here,' and stayed. The sheriff's men would have led him forth; but the sheriff said, 'stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife,' and so they stayed.

"Then came she to him, and he took his daughter *Mary* in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, 'Farewell, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children.' And then he kissed his daughter *Mary*, and said, 'God bless thee, and make thee his servant: and kissing *Elizabeth*, he said, 'God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry.' Then said his wife, 'God be with thee, dear *Rowland*, I will with God's grace meet thee at *Hadleigh*.'"

At eleven o'clock the same morning, Dr. Taylor left *Aldgate*, accompanied by the sheriff of *Essex*, and four yeomen of the guard, and after once more taking an affectionate leave of his son and servant, who met him at the gates of the inn, he proceeded to *Brentwood*, where, in order to prevent his being recognized, they compelled him to wear a mask or close hood, having apertures for the eyes and mouth. Nothing, however, could depress the spirits or abate the fortitude of this intrepid sufferer in the cause of truth; for not only was he patient and resigned, but, at the same time, happy and cheerful, as if a banquet or a bridal, and not a stake, were to be the termination of his journey.

When within two miles of *Hadleigh*, appearing more than commonly cheerful, the sheriff was induced to enquire the cause. "I am now," replied the Doctor, "almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my father's house." He then demanded if they should go through *Hadleigh*; and being answered in the affirmative, he returned thanks to God, exclaiming, "then shall I once more, ere I die, see

my flock, whom, thou Lord knowest I have most dearly loved and truly taught."

At the foot of the bridge leading into the town, there waited for him a poor man with five small children, who, when they saw the Doctor, fell down upon their knees, the man crying with a loud voice, "O dear father and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children." The whole town, indeed, seemed to feel and deplore its loss in a similar manner, the streets being lined with men, women and children, who, when they beheld their beloved pastor led to death, burst into a flood of tears, calling to each other, and saying, "there goeth our good shepherd from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us! O, merciful God! strengthen him and comfort him;" whilst ever in reply, the blessed sufferer, deeply touched by the sorrows of his flock, kept exclaiming:—"I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood." Such in fact was the sympathy, such the lamentation expressed by all ranks for his approaching fate, that the sheriff and his attendants were, as *Fox* declares, "wonderfully astonished," and though active in threatening and rebuking, found it utterly impossible to suppress the emotions of the people.

The Doctor was now about to address the agitated spectators, when one of the yeomen of the guard thrust his staff into his mouth; and, the sheriff, on being appealed to, bade him remember his promise, alluding, as is conjectured, to a pledge extorted from him by the council, under the penalty of having his tongue cut out, that he would not address the people at his death. "Well," said the Doctor, with his wonted patience and resignation, "the promise must be kept;" and then, sitting down, he called to one *Soyce*, whom he had seen in the crowd, and requested him to pull off his boots: adding, with an air of pleasantry, "thou hast long looked for them, and shalt now take them for thy labour."

He then rose up, stripped off his cloathes unto his shirt, and gave them to the poor; when, trusting that a few farewell words to his flock might be tolerated, he said with a loud voice, "Good people, I have taught you nothing but

but God's Holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood."

When he had finished his devotions, he went to the stake, kissed it, and placing himself in the pitch-barrel which had been prepared for him, he stood upright therein, with his back against the stake, his hands folded together, his eyes lifted to heaven, and his mind absorbed in continual prayer.

They now bound him with chains, and the sheriff calling to one *Richard Donningham*, a butcher, ordered him to set up the faggots; but he declined it, alleging that he was lame and unable to lift a faggot; and, though threatened with imprisonment if he continued to hesitate, he steadily and fearlessly refused to comply.

The sheriff was, therefore, obliged to look elsewhere, and at length pitched upon four men, perhaps better calculated than any other for the office they were destined to perform; namely, one *Mullein*, of Kersey, a man, says Fox, fit to be a hangman; *Soyce*, whom we have formerly mentioned, and who was notorious as a drunkard; *Warwick*, who had been deprived of one of his ears for sedition, and *Robert King*, a man of loose character, and who had come hither with a quantity of gunpowder, which, whether it were intended to shorten or increase the torments of the sufferer, can alone be known to Him from whom no secrets are concealed.

While these men were diligently, and it is to be apprehended, cheerfully employed in piling up their wood, Warwick wantonly and cruelly threw a faggot at the Doctor, which struck him on the head, and likewise cut his face, so that the blood ran copiously down; an act of savage ferocity which merely drew from their victim this mild reproach, "Oh, friend, I have harm enough, what need of that." Nor were these diabolical insults confined to those among them of the lowest rank; for when this blessed martyr was saying the psalm *Miserere* in English, Sir John Shelton, who was standing by, struck him on the lips, exclaiming at the same time, "Ye knave, speak Latin, or I will make thee."

They at length set fire to the faggots; when Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon his God, and said, "Merciful Father of Heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." In this attitude

he continued, without either crying or moving, until Soyce striking him forcibly on the head with his halbert, his brains fell out, and the corse dropped down into the fire.

Thus perished midway in the race of piety and utility, all that was mortal of one of the best and most strenuous defenders of the Protestant Church of England; a man who, in all the relations of life, and in all the vicissitudes of the most turbulent periods, in the hour of adversity as in that of prosperity, practised what he preached.

NEELE'S POEMS.

To the remarkable examples of early excellence in the field of modern poetry, I now venture to add a living instance in the person of *Mr. Henry Neele*, to whom, I trust, a much longer date will be assigned for the cultivation of his talents, than fell to the lot of his two immediate predecessors. This youthful candidate for fame, with whom I am only acquainted through the medium of his writing, published about three years ago, a small volume under the title of "*Odes, and other Poems.*" Of these productions, which, from their dates appear to have been written between the fourteenth and seventeenth years of their author's age, the merit strikes me as being so considerable as to justify the notice and the praise which I feel gratified in having an opportunity in bestowing upon them.

They occupy a duodecimo of 144 pages, and are classed under the heads of *Odes*, *Sonnets*, and *Miscellaneous Poems*; the latter division, as well as the two prior parts, being altogether of a lyrical complexion,

The *Odes*, which are twelve in number, but divided into two books, are, like those of Collins, chiefly employed on subjects of an abstract nature, and may, on that account, as was the case with the productions of that exquisite poet, more slowly arrest the popular attention; but their beauties will assuredly in time be duly felt and understood.

That melancholy which so often pervades the higher efforts of poetical genius, and which was intimately blended with almost every thought of Collins and Kirke White, has shed its sombre tints over nearly the whole of Mr. Neele's poetry; and the *Ode to Time*, which opens his little volume, furnishes him with a subject but too productive of materials for the indulgence of this predisposition; nor is that addressed

addressed to *Hope*, which immediately follows it, though on a theme less likely to admit of mournful associations, of a more consolatory complexion. Yet the opening stanza admits, in its fullest extent, the delightful, but too often delusive influence of this flattering passion, and it is impressed upon us in terms of great energy and beauty:

Sun of another world, whose rays,
At distance gladden ours;
Soul of a happier sphere, whose praise
Surpasses mortal powers;
Mysterious feeling, taught to roll
Resistless o'er the breast,
Beyond embrace, above controul,
The strangest, sweetest of the soul,
Possessing, not possest.

It is the purport, however, of the subsequent stanzas to detect the fallacies of this never-failing yet ever-necessary deluder, till, at length, the poet is reduced, as the only source of consolation, to exclaim,

Why mourn the absence of that light,
That only led astray?

yet allowing, at the same time, with the experience which attaches to us all, that this light though deceptive, had been, nevertheless, bright and cheering, and had "gilded all our way;" a confession which naturally introduces the following wildly plaintive, yet highly poetical close:

Yes; he who roams in deserts bare,
That were not always wild,
Will sigh to think how sweetly there
Full many a flow'ret smil'd,
Will pause to mark th' uncherish'd beam,
The tree uprooted torn;
And sit immers'd in pensive dream,
By many a now deserted stream,
To meditate and mourn.

The succeeding poem, which is inscribed *To Memory*, proceeds upon the same plan of recording the pains rather than the pleasures of the subject; and, after painting in strong colours the misery which awaits the retrospect of guilt,

When to the heart untam'd, will cling
The memory of an evil thing,
In life's departing hour,

he laments that, even the loveliest pages in memory's book "which past enjoyment can bestow," are unavailing in their power to mitigate the pangs of present pain and sorrow. Mournfully sweet as are the lines which illustrate this remark, I much wish the young poet had endeavoured to dispel some portion of the gloom

which now totally envelopes his lyre, by some record of the consolation which ever follows the remembrance of good deeds. The contrast would have been morally as well as poetically delightful, as not only opposed to the reminiscences of guilt and despair, but to the inefficiency of mere recollected pleasure; the passage, is, however, as I have just observed, pre-eminently beautiful:

For e'en in thought's serenest hour,
When past delights are felt,
And memory shines on scenes of woe,
'Tis like the moon-beam on the snow,
That gilds but cannot melt;
That throws a mockery lustre o'er,
But leaves it cheerless as before.
Her sweetest song will only tell
Of long departed noon;
Of things we lov'd, alas! how well;
And lost, alas! how soon;
For feelings blasted, hopes deferr'd,
And secret woes unseen, unheard,
By the cold crowd around,
Will rise, and make their plaintive moan,
And mingle with her softest tone,
Till in their murmurs drown'd,
Her lyre shall lose its soothing flow,
And only tell a tale of woe.

Of the three remaining Odes of the first book, which are entitled *To Horror*, *To Despair*, and *To the Moon*, the first and third are finely contrasted in their subject, their imagery and their style. Mr. Neele, like his great predecessor, sacrifices at the shrines both of pity and terror, and his notes awakening fear are not less potent than those which call forth the tears of sympathy and sorrow. He is one of those gifted mortals

— to whom the world unknown,
With all its shadowy shapes, is shown.

And he evidently possesses the faculty of communicating in all their primal strength and heart-withering force, the appalling impressions resulting from this visionary intercourse. Had the following lines from the "Ode to Horror," been found in the pages of Collins, they would not have been thought to derogate from the genius of that powerful bard.

—Yonder come the spectre guard
Who gibber in the dark church-yard,
Obscure the moon's refulgent ray,
And scare the traveller from his way.
And now they come, a sweeping train,
From fell, from flood, from fire, from rain,
Around the mystic fire to trip,
Lay the lean finger on the lip,
To look the tale that none must speak,
To hide the deed that none must seek.—
These, Horror, these the circle dire,
Who form around thy midnight fire,

Where

Where side by side a withering band,
 Plying their mystic trade they stand;
 Thy influence on those nights of fear,
 Binds high and low, spreads far and near,
 Thy step is seen on every glade,
 Thy voice is heard from every shade,
 The timid weep, the pensive sigh,
 The infant starts it knows not why;
 The dreamer wakes from pangs so deep,
 So fierce, he fears again to sleep,
 The traveller trembling, totters on,
 Breathes many a prayer, heaves many a groan,
 Fears all he hears, doubts all he sees,
 And starts and shakes with every breeze.

The sweet and soft repose which characterises the greater part of the "Ode to the Moon," is with great propriety clothed in the chaste and solemn cadences of the blank ode, a form of metre in which our young poet seems to move with peculiar grace and facility. This is the more fortunate, as even among our best lyrical bards, it is rarely that an attempt of the kind has succeeded. With the exception, indeed, of the well known ode of Collins, and one or two subsequent attempts in the same metre, we have nothing which can be offered as a model of blank lyrical rhythm. With what taste and skill Mr. Neele has overcome the difficulties attending this not very popular species of the English ode, will be seen with some surprise, and no little pleasure, from the opening of his poem, in which every ear must feel how accordant is the march and construction of the verse with the sublime yet tranquil imagery of which it forms so happy a medium.

How beautiful on yonder casement pane
 The mild moon gazes! Mark
 With what a lonely and majestic step
 She treads the heavenly hills;
 And oh! how soft, how silently, she pours,
 Her chasten'd radiance on the scene below,
 And hill, and dale, and tow'r,
 Drink the pure flood of light.
 Roll on, roll thus, Queen of the midnight hour,
 For ever beautiful!

The poet then, after descanting on the misery and wretchedness of the orb which his favourite planet so sweetly illumines, employs the last three stanzas in the far more grateful task of enquiring into the ultimate object and utility of a world, at present known only to man by its peaceful and benignant light.

The second series of our author's lyrical effusions, embraces subjects of a much less sombre hue than the first; for, with the exception of an Ode to Pity, it consists of addresses to *Enthu-*

siasm, to *The Harp*, to *Fancy*, to *The Power of Poetry*, and to *Allegory*: themes which require a master's hand and glowing touch; and though occasionally the soul-subduing notes of sorrow are heard to breathe their wildly-plaintive measure, the general tone of this portion of the volume is, as it ought to be, of a more lofty and daring character.

The "*Power of Poetry*," furnishes another congenial theme for the display of Mr. Neele's talents. The same energy of feeling, and vigour of numbers which distinguish his Address to the Harp, are to be found in this eulogium of the noblest of the arts of man. After personifying the influence of poetry, and describing her descent, he paints her surrounded by the passions, who, obedient to her magic call, had hastened to enjoy her smile or own her power, and who, accompanied by a thousand fantastic forms and air-born shapes, burst into songs of joy or grief, of rapture or despair, till the poet, perceiving all nature prostrate at the throne of this subduing power, adds his voice to the universal chorus, avows his uncontrollable attachment, and launches into a glowing and enthusiastic encomium on the fate and fortune of the genuine bard, on the honour which awaits him whilst living, and on the consecration of his memory when dead.

The next division of Mr. Neele's volume, includes four sonnets, a species of composition difficult of execution, and in which many of our poets have failed. The specimens before us belong to the elegiac department, and do not exhibit the peculiar arrangement of what has been termed the legitimate Italian sonnet. Their construction, however, is not limited to mere alternate rhyme with a couplet at the close, the usual form of the English sonnet of this class, but is varied with considerable skill and effect. The fourth, especially, not only presents a pleasing metrical system, but seems to me to possess a claim to originality, both in the choice and application of its imagery.

The *Miscellaneous Poems* which close the collection, are in no degree inferior to those which have preceded them. The same beauty of expression and tenderness of feeling which have interested us so deeply in the odes, continue to attract and delight us throughout the whole of this division. Yet is it, with but two exceptions, though consisting of not

not less than twelve poems, of a complexion still more pensive and desponding than any other part of the volume. The tones, however, which issue from the harp of this youthful complainant, are of such peculiar sweetness, so dwell upon the ear and touch the heart, that the effect, though depressing, is at the same time, singularly grateful and soothing, producing, in fact, that mixed emotion which has been so happily designated by Ossian under the expression of "The Joy of Grief."

The plaintive flow of the versification of the subsequent stanzas from "*The Wanderer's Roundelay*," and the mournful sense of destitution which they convey, cannot but impress with sensations of sympathy the most thoughtless and volatile reader :—

There was a time when joy ran high,
And every sadder thought was weak,
Tears did not always dim this eye,
Or sorrow always stain this cheek ;
And even now I often dream,
When sunk in feverish broken sleep,
Of things that were, and things that seem,
And friends that love, then wake to weep
That few must be
The tears for me,
When I am lain beneath the tree.

— no dirge for me will ring,
No stone will mark my lowly spot,
I am a suffering withering thing,
Just seen, and slighted, and forgot,
And few shall be
The tears for me,
When I am lain beneath the tree.

Yet there's room
For sorrow in the arms of death,
For disappointment in the tomb ;
What tho' the slumbers there be deep,
Tho' not by kind remembrance blest,
To slumber is to cease to weep,
To sleep forgotten is to rest ;
Oh sound shall be
The rest for me,
When I am lain beneath the tree.

I shall conclude these specimens of early excellence by a passage from the poem entitled "*Disappointment*," in which, whether the pathos, the imagery, or the expression be regarded, the most fastidious will find little to reprove, and the friends of opening genius much that will excite their admiration.

Life is a fair, nay charming form,
Of nameless grace and tempting sweets,
But disappointment is the worm,
That cankers every bud she meets ;
And when she finds a flower, the chief
Of others ; more divine, more fair,

She crawls upon its loveliest leaf,
And feeds, and breeds, and riots there.
O heart ; it is a sad employ,
The flowers we dare not cull to count,
From deserts gaze at fields of joy,
Barred from approach by main and mount ;
To dream of bliss to come or past,
Of cheerful hearths and peopled halls,
Then wake and hear the hollow blast
Moan mournful through the ruined walls.

Such are the compositions which Mr. Neele has given to the world as written between the fourteenth and seventeenth years of his age.

That they are possessed of great merit independent of any consideration of the early period at which they were produced, will not, I think, be denied by those who have attentively perused the preceding extracts ; but when viewed in connection with the youth and inexperience of the author ; when beheld as the very firstlings of his earliest years, they cannot but be deemed very extraordinary efforts, indeed, both of taste and genius, and as conferring no slight celebrity on their author, as the name next to be pronounced perhaps after those of Chatterton and Kirke White.

LETTERS

FROM

MRS. DELANY,

(WIDOW OF DOCTOR PATRICK DELANY,)

TO

MRS. FRANCIS HAMILTON.

FROM THE YEAR 1779, TO THE YEAR 1788 ;
Price 6s. 6d.

[This small volume claims our attention from its interest and the character of its amiable author, rather than from its magnitude. The *Anecdotes of the late Royal Family* are curious and original, and could be furnished only by one in the peculiar situation of Mrs. Delany. It is to be regretted that those capable of being so amiable, could from any convictions arising out of state policy, have been led to wage wars which covered large portions of Asia, America and Europe successively with blood, and could maintain, till 1806, that infernal Slave Trade, which spread misery in its most frightful forms over the vast continent of Africa. Power ought to extend its energies beyond the selfish sphere of the domestic circle.]

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

Mary Delany, a lady of distinguished ingenuity and merit, was born in a small country-

country-house of her father's, at Coulton in Wiltshire, May 17, 1700. She was the daughter of Barnard Granville, and niece of George, afterwards Lord Granville, a nobleman, whose abilities and virtues, whose character as a poet, whose friendship with Pope, Swift, and other eminent writers of the time, and whose general patronage of men of genius and literature, have often been recorded in biographical productions. It was at Long Leat, the seat of the Weymouth family, which was occupied by Lord Lansdowne during the minority of the heir of that family, that Miss Granville first saw Alexander Pendarves, Esq. a gentleman of large property, at Roscrow in Cornwall, and who immediately paid his addresses to her, which were so strenuously supported by her uncle, whom she had not the courage to deny, that she gave a reluctant consent to the match; and accordingly it took place in the compass of two or three weeks, she being then in the seventeenth year of her age.

In 1714, Mrs. Pendarves became a widow, upon which occasion she quitted Cornwall, and fixed her principal residence in London. For several years, between 1730 and 1736, she maintained a correspondence with Dr. Swift. In 1743, Mrs. Pendarves was married to Dr. Delany, with whom it appears she had been long acquainted, and for whom she had many years entertained a very high esteem. She had been a widow nineteen years when this connection, which was a very happy one, took place, and her husband is said to have regarded her almost to adoration. Upon his decease in May, 1761, she intended to fix herself at Bath, and was in quest of a house for that purpose. But the Duchess Dowager of Portland, hearing of her design, went down to the place, and having in her early years formed an intimacy with Mrs. Delany, wished to have near her a lady from whom she had necessarily, for several years, been much separated, and whose heart and talents she knew, would, in the highest degree, add to the happiness of her own life. Her Grace succeeded in her solicitations, and Mrs. Delany now passed her time between London and Bulstrode. On the death of the Duchess Dowager of Portland, His Majesty*, who had frequently seen and honoured Mrs. Delany with his notice at Bulstrode, assigned

her for her summer residence the use of a house completely furnished, in St. Alban's Street, Windsor, adjoining to the entrance of the Castle; and that the having two houses on her hands might not produce any inconvenience with regard to the expense of her living, His Majesty, as a farther mark of his royal favour, conferred on her a pension of three hundred pounds a year. On the 15th of April, 1788, after a short indisposition, she departed this life, at her house in St. James's Place, having nearly completed the eighty-eighth year of her age.

By Mrs. Hannah More.

Delany shines in worth serenely bright,
Wisdom's strong ray, and virtue's milder
light;
And she who bless'd the friend, and graced
the page
Of Swift, still lends her lustre to our age.
Long, long protract thy light, oh star benign,
Whose setting beams with added brightness
shine.

By Dr. Darwin.

So now Delany forms her mimic powers,
Her paper foliage and her silken flowers;
Her virgin train the tender scissors ply,
Vein the green leaf, the purple petal dye;
Round wiry stems the flaxen tendrils bend,
Moss creeps below, and waxen fruit impends.
Cold winter views, amid his realms of snow,
Delany's vegetable statues blow;
Smooths his stern brow, delays his hoary
wing,
And eyes with wonder all the bloom of
spring.

THE ROYAL FAMILY in 1779.

The royal family (ten in all) came at twelve o'clock. The king drove the Queen in an open chaise, with a pair of white horses. The Prince of Wales and Prince Frederick rode on horseback, all with proper attendants, but no guards. Princess Royal and Lady Weymouth, in a post-chaise; Princess Augusta, Princess Elizabeth, Prince Adolphus (about seven years old,) and Lady Charlotte Finch, in a coach; Prince William, Prince Edward, Duke of Montague, and Bishop of Lichfield, in a coach; another coach, full of attendant gentlemen; amongst the number, Mr. Smelt, whose character sets him above most men, and does great honour to the King, who calls him his friend, and has drawn him out of his solitude (the life he had chosen) to enjoy his conversation every leisure moment. These, with all their attendants in rank and file, made a splendid figure as they drove through the park, and round the court, up to the house.
The

* George the Third.

The day was as brilliant as could be wished, the 12th of August, the Prince of Wales's birth day. The Queen was in a hat, and an Italian night-gown of purple lustring, trimmed with silver gauze. She is graceful and genteel; the dignity and sweetness of her manner, the perfect propriety of every thing she says, or does, satisfies every body she honours with her distinction so much, that beauty is by no means wanting to make her perfectly agreeable: and though age and long retirement from court, made me feel timid on my being called to make my appearance, I soon found myself perfectly at ease; for the King's condescension and good humour took off all awe, but what one must have for so respectable a character (severely tried by his enemies at home, as well as abroad.) The three Princesses were all in frocks; the King and all the men were in an uniform, blue and gold. They walked through the great apartments, which are in a line, and attentively observed every thing; the pictures in particular. I kept back in the drawing-room, and took that opportunity of sitting down; when Princess Royal returned to me, and said the Queen missed me in the train: I immediately obeyed the summons with my best alacrity. Her Majesty met me half-way, and seeing me hasten my steps, called out to me, "Though I desired you to come, I did not desire you to run and fatigue yourself." They all returned to the great drawing-room, where there were only two armed chairs placed in the middle of the room for the King and Queen.—The King placed the Duchess Dowager of Portland in his chair, and walked about admiring the beauties of the place. Breakfast was offered—all prepared in a long gallery that runs the length of the great apartments (a suite of eight rooms and three closets.) The King and all his royal children, and the rest of the train, chose to go to the gallery, where the well furnished tables were set: one with tea, coffee, and chocolate; another with their proper accompaniments of eatables, rolls, cakes, &c.; another table with fruits and ices in the utmost perfection; which with a magical touch had succeeded a cold repast. The Queen remained in the drawing-room: I stood at the back of her chair, which happening to be one of my working, gave the Queen an opportunity of saying many flattering and obliging things. The

Duchess Dowager of Portland brought her Majesty a dish of tea on a waiter, with biscuits, which was what she chose; after she had drank her tea, she would not return the cup to the Duchess, but got up and would carry it into the gallery herself, and was much pleased to see with what elegance every thing was prepared: no servants but those out of livery made their appearance. The gay and pleasant appearance they all made, and the satisfaction all expressed, rewarded the attention and politeness of the Duchess of Portland, who is never so happy as when she gratifies those she esteems worthy of her attention and favours. The young royals seemed quite happy, from the eldest to the youngest, and to inherit the gracious manners of their parents. I cannot enter upon their particular address to me, which not only did me honour, but showed their humane and benevolent respect for old age.

The King desired me to show the Queen one of my books of plants: she seated herself in the gallery; a table and the book laid before her.—I kept my distance till she called me to ask some questions about the mosaic paper work; and as I stood before Her Majesty, the King set a chair behind me. I turned with some confusion and hesitation, on receiving so great an honour, when the Queen said, "Mrs. Delany, sit down, sit down: it is not every lady that has a chair brought her by a King;" so I obeyed. Amongst many gracious things, the Queen asked me why I was not with the Duchess when she came; for I might be sure she would ask for me?" I was flattered though I knew to whom I was obliged for the distinction, (and doubly flattered by *that*.) I acknowledged it in as few words as possible, and said I was particularly happy at that time to pay my duty to Her Majesty, as it gave me an opportunity of seeing so many of the Royal Family, which age and obscurity had deprived me of. "Oh but," says Her Majesty, "you have not seen *all* my children yet;" upon which the King came up and asked what we were talking about? which was repeated, and the King replied to the Queen, "you may put Mrs. Delany into the way of doing that, by naming a day for her to drink tea at Windsor Castle. The Duchess of Portland was consulted, and the next day fixed upon, as the Duchess had appointed the end of the week for going to Weymouth.

We went at the hour appointed, seven o'clock, and were received in the lower private apartment in the Castle: went through a large room with great bay windows, where were all the Princesses and youngest Princes, with their attendant ladies and gentlemen. We passed on to the bedchamber, where the Queen stood in the middle of the room, with Lady Weymouth and Lady Charlotte Finch. (The King and the eldest Princes had walked out.) When the Queen took her seat, and the ladies their places, she ordered a chair to be set for me opposite to where she sat, and asked me if I felt any wind from the door or window?—It was indeed a sultry day.

At eight the King, &c. came into the room with so much cheerfulness and good humour, that it was impossible to feel any painful restriction. It was the hour of the King and Queen and eleven of the Princes and Princesses' walking on the terrace. They apologised for going, but said the crowd expected them; but they left Lady Weymouth and the Bishop of Lichfield to entertain us in their absence: we sat in the bay-window, well pleased with our companions, and the brilliant show on the terrace, on which we looked; the band of music playing all the time under the window.—When they returned we were summoned into the next room to tea, and the Royals began a ball, and danced two country dances, to the music of French horns, bassoons, and hautboys, which were the same that played on the terrace. The King came up to the Prince of Wales, and said he was sure, when he considered how great an effort it must be to play that kind of music so long a time together, that he would not continue their dancing there, but that the Queen and the rest of the company were going to the Queen's house, and they should renew their dancing there, and have proper music.

ANOTHER VISIT, 1781.

On Tuesday morning, a quarter before ten, the Duchess of Portland stepped into her chaise, and I had the honour of attending her. We went to Garrat's Cross, about the middle of the common, by the appointment and command of the King, who came, about a quarter of an hour after, with the Prince of Wales, and a large retinue. His Majesty came up immediately to the Duchess of Portland's carriage, most gracious, and delighted to see the Duchess out so early. The Queen was there with the two eldest

Princesses and Lady Courtown, in a post-chaise and four. The King came with a message from the Queen to the Duchess of Portland, to say, Her Majesty would see her safe back to Bulstrode, and breakfast with Her Grace. The Duke of Cumberland was there; and a great many carriages, and many of our acquaintance: amongst them, Lady Mary Forbes and her family. She took three rooms at the Bull Inn, and breakfasted thirty people. The King himself ordered the spot where the Duchess of Portland's chaise should stand to see the stag turned out. It was brought in a cart to that place by the King's command. The stag was set at liberty, and the poor trembling creature bounded over the plain, in hopes of escaping from his pursuers; but the dogs and the hunters were soon after him, and all out of sight.

The Duchess of Portland returned home, in order to be ready to receive the Queen, who immediately followed before we could pull off our bonnets and cloaks. We received Her Majesty and the Princesses on the steps at the door, she is so condescending and gracious that she makes every thing perfectly easy. We got home a quarter before eleven o'clock; Her Majesty staid till two. In her return back to Windsor she met the chase, and was at the taking of the stag: they would not let the dogs kill him.

On Wednesday the Duchess of Portland intended to go and return the Queen thanks for the honour she had done her: we were to set out early. I dressed my head for the day before breakfast, when a letter arrived from Miss Hamilton, from the Queen's lodge, to me, with a message from the King, to desire we would not come till Thursday evening, eight o'clock; as he could not be at home till then. Accordingly, we went: were there at the appointed hour. The King and Queen and the Princesses received us in the drawing-room, to which we went through the concert-room. Princess Mary took me by the left hand, Princess Sophia and the sweet little Prince Octavius, took me by the right hand, and led me after the Duchess of Portland into the drawing-room. The King nodded and smiled upon my little conductors, and bid them to lead me up to the Queen, who stood in the middle of the room. When we were all seated, (for the Queen is so gracious she will always make me sit down.)

down,) the Duchess of Portland sat next to the Queen, and I sat next to Princess Royal. On the other side of me was a chair, and His Majesty did me the honour to sit by me. He went backwards and forwards between that and the music-room: he was so gracious as to have a good deal of conversation with me, particularly about Handal's music; and ordered those pieces to be played which he found I gave a preference to. In the course of the evening the Queen changed places with Princess Royal, saying, most graciously, she must have a little conversation with Mrs. Delany, which lasted about half an hour. She then got up, it being half-an-hour after ten, and said she was afraid she should keep the Duchess of Portland too late, and made her courtesy, and we withdrew. There was nobody but their attendants, and Lord and Lady Courtown.

A THIRD VISIT, 1783.

In a few days after our arrival here, the Duchess of Portland and I were sitting in the long gallery, very busy with our different employments, when, without any ceremony, His Majesty walked up to our table unperceived and unknown, till he came quite up to us. You may believe we were at first a little fluttered with his royal presence; but his courteous and affable manner soon made him a welcome guest. He came to inform the Duchess of Portland of the Queen's perfect recovery after her lying-in, which made him doubly welcome.

Breakfast was called for, and after a visit of two hours the King left us. About a week after this, the King and Queen came together, only accompanied by Lady Courtown. They breakfasted and stayed much about the same time. The *etiquette* is, that the person, on whom such an honour is conferred, goes the next day to enquire after Their Majesties; but the Queen waved that ceremony, and desired the Duchess not to come till she received a summons, as they were going to St. James's for some days. Last Thursday, 2nd of October, a little before twelve o'clock, word was brought that the Royal Family were coming up the Park: and immediately after, two coaches-and-six, with the King on horseback, and a great retinue, came up to the hall door. The company were, the King and Queen, Princess Royal, Princess Augusta, Princess Elizabeth, Princess Mary, and Princess Sophia,—a lovely group, all dressed in white muslin polonoises, white chip hats

with white feathers, except the Queen, who had on a black hat and cloak;—the King dressed in his Windsor uniform of blue and gold; the Queen attended by the Duchess of Ancaster, who is mistress of the robes, and Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, who attends the two eldest Princesses, and Mrs. Goldsworthy, who is sub-governess to the three younger Princesses. The King had no attendants but the equerries, Major Digby and Major Price. They were in the drawing-room before I was sent for, where I found the King and Queen and the Duchess of Portland seated at a table in the middle of the room. The King, with his usual graciousness, came up to me, and brought me forward, and I found the Queen very busy in showing a very elegant machine to the Duchess of Portland, which was a frame for weaving of fringe, of a new and most delicate structure, and would take up as much paper as has already been written upon to describe it minutely, yet it is of such simplicity as to be very useful. You will easily imagine the grateful feeling I had when the Queen presented it to me, to make up some knotted fringe which she saw me about. The King, at the same time, said he must contribute something to my work, and presented me with a gold knotting shuttle, of most exquisite workmanship and taste; and I am at this time, while I am dictating the letter, knotting white silk, to fringe the bag which is to contain it.

On the Monday after, we were appointed to go to the lodge at Windsor, at two o'clock. We were first taken into the Duchess of Ancaster's dressing-room; in a quarter of an hour after, to the King and Queen in the drawing-room, who had nobody with them but Prince Alverstaden, the Hanoverian minister, which gave me an opportunity of hearing the Queen speak German; and I may say, it was the first time I received pleasure from what I did not understand; but there was such a fluency and sweetness in her manner of speaking it, that it sounded as gentle as Italian.

There were two chairs brought in, for the Duchess of Portland and myself to sit on, (by order of their Majesties,) which were easier than those belonging to the room. We were seated near the door that opened into the concert-room. The King directed them to play Handel and Geminiani's music, which he was graciously pleased to say was to gratify me. These

These are flattering honours. I should not indulge so much upon this subject, but that I depend upon your considering it proceeding more from gratitude than vanity. — The three eldest Princesses came into the room in about half an hour after we were seated. All the royal family were dressed in a uniform for the *demi-saison*, of a violet-blue armozine, gauze aprons, &c. &c.: the Queen had the addition of a great many fine pearls.

When the concert of music was over, the young Princess Amelia, nine weeks old, was sent for, and brought in by her nurse and attendants. The King took her in his arms, and presented her to the Duchess of Portland and to me. Your affectionate heart would have been delighted with the royal domestic scene; an example worthy of imitation by all ranks, and, indeed, adding dignity to their high station.

MRS. SIDDON'S READING.

On Thursday, the 9th of May, I received a note from Lady Weymouth, to tell me the Queen invited me to Her Majesty's house; to come at seven o'clock with the Duchess Dowager of Portland, to hear Mrs. Siddons read "The Provoked Husband." You may believe I obeyed the royal summons, and was much entertained. It was very desirable to me, as I had no other opportunity of hearing or seeing Mrs. Siddons; and she fully answered my expectations: her person and manner perfectly agreeable. We were received in the great drawing-room by the King and Queen, their five daughters, and Prince Edward. Besides the royal family, there were only the Duchess Dowager of Portland, her daughter Lady Weymouth, and her beautiful grand-daughter Lady Aylesford; Lord and Lady Harcourt, Lady Charlotte Finch, Duke of Montague, and the gentlemen attendant on the King. There were two rows of chairs for the company the length of the room.

Their Majesties sat in the middle of the first row, with the Princesses on each hand, which filled it. The rest of the ladies were seated in row behind them, and as there was a space between that and the wall, the lords and gentlemen that were admitted stood there. Mrs. Siddons read standing, and had a desk with candles before her: she behaved with great propriety, and read two acts of the *Provoked Husband*, which was abridged, by leaving out Sir

Francis and Lady Wronghead's parts, &c.; but she introduced John Moody's account of the journey, and read it admirably. The part of Lord and Lady Townly's reconciliation she worked up finely, and made it very affecting. She also read Queen Katharine's last speech in King Henry VIII. She was allowed three pauses, to go into the next room and refresh herself, for half an hour each time.

HER WINDSOR LIFE, 1786.

The constant course of my living at present, from which I vary very little, is as follows: I seldom miss going early to prayers at the King's chapel, at eight o'clock, where I never fail of seeing their Majesties and all the royal family. The common way of going up to the chapel is through the great entrance into the castle, which is a large room with stone pillars, at the corner of which is a narrow winding staircase, which leads to the chapel; but their Majesties, with their usual goodness and indulgence, have ordered that I should be admitted through the great staircase, which is a very easy ascent. When chapel is over, all the congregation make a line in the great portico till their Majesties have passed; for they always walk to chapel and back again, and speak to every body of consequence as they pass: indeed, it is a delightful sight to see so much beauty, dignity, and condescension, united as they are in the royal family. I come home to breakfast generally about nine o'clock: if I and the weather are well enough, I take the air for two hours. The rest of the morning is devoted to business, and the company of my particular friends. I admit no formal visitors, as I really have not time or spirits for it, and every body here is very civil and very considerate.

My afternoons I keep entirely to myself, that I may have no interruption whenever my royal neighbours condescend to visit me: their usual time of coming is between six and seven o'clock, and generally stay till between eight and nine. They always drink tea here, and my niece has the honour of dealing it about to all the royal family, as they will not suffer me to do it (though it is my place;) the Queen always placing me upon the sofa by her, and the King when he sits down, which is seldom, sits next the sofa. Indeed, their visits are not limited to the afternoons, for their Majesties often call on me in a morning and take me as they find me, not

not suffering any body to give me notice of their being come. Great as my awe is, their Majesties have such sweetness of manners that it takes off all painful sensation.

At this time of the year the evenings are devoted by them to the Terrace, till eight o'clock, when they return to the Lodge to their tea and concert of music; happy are those who are admitted to that circle! The Queen has the goodness to command me to come to the lodge, whenever it is quite easy to me to do it, without sending particularly for me, lest it should embarrass me to refuse that honour; so that most evenings, at half-an-hour past seven, I go to Miss Burney's apartment, and when the royal family return from the terrace, the King, or one of the Princesses (generally the youngest, Princess Amelia, just four years old) come into the room, take me by the hand, and lead me into the drawing-room, where there is a chair ready for me by the Queen's left hand; the three eldest Princesses sit round the table, and the ladies in waiting, Lady Charlotte Finch and Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave. A vacant chair is left for the King whenever he pleases to sit down in it. Every one is employed with pencil, needle, or knotting. Between the pieces of music the conversation is easy and pleasant; and, for an hour before the conclusion of the whole, the King plays at backgammon with one of his equerries, and I am generally dismissed; I then go to Miss Burney's room again, where Miss Port* generally spends the evenings that I am at the lodge, and has an opportunity of being in good company there.

MISS BURNEY.

An event has taken place which gives me great satisfaction: I am sure you are acquainted with the novel entitled *Cecilia*, much admired for its good sense, variety of character, delicacy of sentiment, &c. &c. There is nothing good, and amiable, and agreeable mentioned in the book, that is not possessed by the author of it, Miss Burney: I have been acquainted with her now three years: her extreme diffidence of herself, notwithstanding her great genius, and the applause she has met with, adds lustre to all her excellencies, and all improve

* Daughter of the late Mrs. Mary Port, of Islam, who was niece of Mrs. Delany, and one of the most intelligent, accomplished, and interesting women of her time.—EDITOR M. M.

on acquaintance. In the course of this last year, she has been so good as to pass a few weeks with me at Windsor, which gave the Queen an opportunity of seeing and talking with her, which her Majesty was so gracious to admit of. One of the principal ladies that attend the Queen's person as dresser, is going to retire into her own country, being in too bad a state of health to continue her honourable and delightful employment, for such it must be near such a Queen; and Miss Burney is to be the happy successor, chosen by the Queen without any particular recommendation from any body.

MARGARET NICHOLSON.

It is impossible for me to enumerate the daily instances I receive from my royal friends; who seem unwearied in the pursuit of making me as happy as they can. I am sure you must be very sensible how thankful I am to Providence for the late wonderful escape of his Majesty from the stroke of assassination: indeed, the horror that there was a possibility that such an attempt would be made, shocked me so much at first, that I could hardly enjoy the blessing of such a preservation. The King would not suffer any body to inform the Queen of that event, till he could show himself in person to her. He returned to Windsor as soon as the council was over. When his Majesty entered the Queen's dressing-room, he found her with the two eldest princesses: and entering in an animated manner, said, "Here I am, safe and well!" The Queen suspected from this saying, that some accident had happened, on which he informed her of the whole affair. The queen stood struck and motionless for some time, till the princesses burst into tears, in which she immediately found relief by joining with them. Joy soon succeeded this agitation of mind, on the assurance that the person was insane that had the boldness to make the attack, which took off all aggravating suspicion; and it has been the means of showing the whole kingdom, that the King has the hearts of his subjects. I must tell you a particular gracious attention to me on the occasion: their Majesties sent immediately to my house to give orders I should not be told of it till the next morning, for fear the agitation should give me a bad night. Dowager Lady Spencer was in the house with me, and went with me to early prayers, next morning, at eight o'clock; and after chapel was over she separated herself from

from me, and had a long conference with the King and Queen, as they stopped to speak to her on our coming out of chapel. When we returned to breakfast, I taxed her with her having robbed me of an opportunity of hearing what their Majesties said to her, by standing at such a distance. She told me, it was a secret; but she had now their permission to tell me what it was, and then informed me of the whole affair.

I was commanded in the evening to attend them at the Lodge, where I spent the evening; the happiness of being with them not a little increased by seeing the fulness of joy that appeared in every countenance.

MR. SMELT, 1786.

The royal family once a fortnight take Kew in their way to London; they leave Windsor on Tuesday, and return on Saturday. Their Majesties were so gracious as to hint a wish of my spending some days at Kew when they were there, and to make it completely agreeable and commodious, engaged Mr. and Mrs. Smelt, who live there, to invite me to *their house*, a pleasure of *itself*, that would have given me wings for the undertaking; and accordingly I availed myself of the command of one, and the invitation of the other, and spent part of two weeks there. I think you can hardly be a stranger to the character of Mr. Smelt, a man that has the honour of being friend to the King, and testified to the world by his disinterested and steady behaviour, how worthy he is of such a distinction. His character is that of the most noble and delicate kind, and deserves the pen of a Clarendon to do justice to it. Mrs. Smelt is a very sensible, friendly, agreeable woman. Their house is convenient and elegant, situated upon the banks of the Thames, open to all its beauties, and guarded from all its inconveniences, and within a short walk from thence to the royal lodge, and they are visited more than once a day by their Majesties or some of the royal family; which pleasure I had the honour of partaking. We were appointed to dine every day at Miss Burney's table, at the lodge, which we did almost every day. It is very magnificent and the society very agreeable: about eight or ten persons, belonging to their Majesties. Coffee was ready about six o'clock, which was immediately after dinner; about seven the King generally walked into the room, addressing every body with the most delightful conde-

scension, and after that, commanded me and Mrs. Smelt to follow him into the Queen's apartment, where we drank tea, and stayed till near ten o'clock. It is impossible to describe the pleasure and satisfaction such a society bestowed.

ESSAYS

AND
SKETCHES

OF LIFE AND CHARACTER.

BY A GENTLEMAN
WHO HAS LEFT HIS LODGINGS.

Price 6s.

[The extracts will justify our notice of a work, which from its bulk might have been passed over amidst the multitude of books. It must be admitted, that many passages are common-place in sentiment and tame in style, but the volume possesses beauties and exhibits opinions, which merit transferring to our pages. The Author, at least he who wrote the Essay on the Constitution, is no novice in literature, and we do not hesitate to ascribe that Essay to a distinguished member of the House of Commons. Perhaps several hands have been engaged in the production of the work, for it is not likely that the jejune trash about Field Sports and Order of Knighthood, could have been written by the writer of most of the other Essays.]

HUMOROUS PREFACE.

About a year ago a gentleman, without a servant, took an apartment on the first floor of my house. He was, apparently, a young man; but his look was not diffident and unpractised, like that of most young men, but bold and decided, like the countenance of a lieutenant of hussars, who has served a campaign or two, and as piercing as that of an Old Bailey lawyer. He wore long black hair over his forehead, and used some words in his language, which I never saw any where but in the Bible and Common Prayer, and which, I suppose, are now out of use. He took two servants, and began to frequent the world. I observed he went to Almack's and the French play; was admitted into the Travellers' club, wore stays, and used much starch in his neckcloth. Notwithstanding this, his life was not so regular as that of most young men of fashion. He did not always go out to dinner at a quarter before eight, nor always come home at five in the morning, nor always get up at half-past two in the afternoon. I thought this extraordinary, because I had

had observed, that those who pretend to any fashion, and claim merit from their want of punctuality, are generally the most exact people possible, to be always twenty minutes too late wherever they go. My lodger, on the contrary, very often went out riding upon his return from a ball, and then came and dined by himself, or with my family, at four or five o'clock: nor was he of the usual placid, indifferent humour, that men of the world generally are. Sometimes a darkness would come over his face, and he would sit frowning at the chimney-piece in his own room for a fortnight together. Every now and then he would go away for a few days to Dublin or to Edinburgh, without any apparent reason. But, on the 5th of February last, he set out from my house, about twelve at night, saying he should return in a few days. Since that time I have heard nothing of him; and being in great want of money to pay my taxes, I went to search, to see if there were any thing I could sell for rent, of which I had not received one farthing. I found a few old clothes, a dozen pair of boots, and a large number of manuscripts: these were written in all kinds of languages, ancient and modern, more than I ever heard of: some few were in English; and one called, "On the State of the Constitution," in a totally different hand. I suspect it was written by the gentleman, for there was only one, who used sometimes to pay my lodger a visit. With these papers in my hand, I went off directly to Mr. Longman; and he has given me some hopes that I may recover a part of my rent by their means. Who the author may be, I do not pretend to say; or whether the last paper relates at all to himself: I leave that to the courteous reader; and I beg him to recollect, that I am not answerable for the opinions of a gentleman who has left his lodgings.

Sackville Street, JOSEPH SKILLETT.
May 24, 1820.

ENGLISH SOCIETY.

Society on the Continent is one of the greatest luxuries; it is, in fact, an interchange of polite vanity, and as it is itself so great an enjoyment, it constitutes a principal object. But the English, who are proud and reserved, take no pleasure in society, and accordingly they only meet when one of the number can gratify his pride and hospitality by giving a dinner or supper. Conversation is then an involuntary obligation,

and except over a bottle of wine, which at once heightens the spirits and opens the heart, is seldom enjoyed by the real John Bull. It is in closing to his own fire-side, in excluding all but his own family, in settling himself in a large arm-chair, with the consciousness that he is not obliged to entertain any body, that consists the *comfort*, which is the boast of his language and his life. Comfort generally means a great consideration for self, and a total forgetfulness of other people. It is the same attention to comfort, or the same solitary pride, which prevents a *restaurateur* from flourishing in London: a better dinner might then be obtained for half the sum; but Mr. Bull likes to have a mutton chop in his own parlour. For the same reason, a town on the Continent is full of reading-rooms, but an Englishman has his newspaper at home; and whilst a fine day in France brings every living soul out of doors, the haughty tailors and punctilious green-grocers of England spend the evening in their close room of six feet square, almost poisoned by the smell of the cheese and apples in the cupboard.

MEN OF LETTERS.

There is no class of persons, it may be observed, whose failings are more open to remark than men of letters. In the first place, they are raised on an eminence, where every thing they do is carefully observed by those who have not been able to get so high; in the next place, their occupation, especially if they are poets, being either the expression of superabundant feeling, or the pursuit of praise, they are naturally more sensitive and quick in their emotions than any other class of men; hence a thousand little quarrels, and passing irritabilities. In the next place, they have the power of wounding deeply those of whom they are envious. A man who shoots envies another who shoots better: a shoemaker even envies another who makes more popular shoes; but the sportsman and the shoemaker can only say they do not like their rival: the author cuts his brother author to the bone, with the sharp edge of an epigram or bon mot. Again, it oftens happens, that a man of letters is ignorant of the world; hence he offends against a number of the laws of company, reveals a hundred little feelings which he ought to conceal, and often shows the resentment of injured pride, in return for what was meant as kindness.

The

The quality which is most offensive in poets is their very ready servility. It is not easy to read with patience the verses which make Augustus a god, and exalt Nero into a prodigy of virtue.

Too many of the worst men have got the tribute of praise from the best poets. Polycrates, Augustus, Nero, Justinian, Louis XIV. Charles II., Bubb Doddington, the Duke of Ferrara, have all had their wreath of luxuriant laurel from the hands of poets: how fortunate it would have been, had we been able to say the reverse; that bad princes had all been blamed, and only good ones praised! The praise of poetry would then have been what it ought to be, an object of difficult attainment, adding another to the few worldly motives which kings have, to be better than their fellow-men: verse would then, indeed, have been sacred, and a few lines, expressing in noble terms the great qualities which had been actually possessed by the object of them, would have been remembered and quoted to the latest posterity, giving a dignity to poetry, an incentive to virtue, and a spectacle fitted to unite the approbation with the wonder of mankind.

SUPERFICIAL VIEWS.

Travellers from the Continent seldom stay long enough in England to understand the nature of her institutions, and sound the deep seas of her prosperity. The French think they have shown great discernment, as well as liberality, in establishing *Trial by Jury*. They do not seem to perceive that the goodness of the stuff depends on the material of which it is made, and that a jury must not only consist of twelve men, but of twelve honest men; otherwise it is only a shirt very well made with rotten thread. As long as the members of juries in France are liable to be gained, or awed by Government, the institution is good for nothing, and indeed rather pernicious.

The Spaniards, in the same humour, borrowed from England the liberty of the press; but they forgot to provide for the liberty of the individual who was to print; and the consequence was, that any author who published against the reigning power, was immediately seized and imprisoned. England, like a work of genius, deserves and requires a slow and frequent perusal to understand its beauties.

NATIONAL CHARACTER.

I was sitting one day in company with a Frenchman, a Spaniard, an Italian,

an Englishman, and a German, when a conversation began upon the merits of their respective nations. As I found the argument growing warm, especially on the part of the Frenchman, who was pouring a shower of small talk upon the Englishman, and of the Italian who was near touching the ceiling with his hands in order to invoke the vengeance of Heaven upon the German, I bethought me of a method to temper the discussion; I proposed that each should set forth his reasons for preferring his own nation in a continued speech, and that I, as an impartial hearer, should be the judge amongst them.

I address myself first to the *Spaniard*, was by no means a Liberal, and said, "Tell me why you consider your own nation as the wisest, the happiest, and the best?"—he answered, "I consider the two former epithets as entirely superfluous; for if we are the best, we must be the happiest; and if we are the happiest and best, we must be the wisest.

"Now, I believe, there is no man who performs, so well as the Spaniard, his duty to God, and to his neighbour. He worships in the most exact, and even in the most splendid manner, the Divine Creator, the Redeemer, the Holy Ghost, and the Blessed Virgin, and he does not forget to pray for the intercession of the least of the Saints whom the church has admitted; he is loyal to his king, to the utmost stretch of Christian patience and submission; he is kind and charitable to his fellow-creatures, helping the needy, and feeding the hungry; he reaps the reward of his good actions in a perpetual cheerfulness. Cheerfulness is the habit of the good; gaiety is but the delirium of the wicked. Nor let it be supposed, as many declamatory writers have asserted, that the Inquisition has diminished the happiness of Spain. It is only through the acts of the Inquisition, that the Spanish people have been preserved in an unanimous faith. Now, even granting, for argument's sake, that other religions may be equally good for a future life, there is nothing which tends so much to union and harmony in the present, as worship at the same altar, reliance upon the same means of salvation, obligation to the same duties, and hope of the same final reward. Much has been said of the victims of the Inquisition. The care which that holy tribunal employed not to hurt the reputation of families, by publishing

publishing their proceedings, has served to spread a clamour against them; for that which is secret is always magnified by report. It is thus that fame revenges herself on those who wish to keep her out. But, in reality, are the victims of the Inquisition to be compared with those of the day of St. Barthelemi, and the revocation of the edict of Nantz?—such are the effects of admitting the infection, and then endeavouring to stop it: or are they to be compared with the thousands who suffered in England under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth?—such are the consequences of admitting, without controul, the preachers of heresy and schism.

“If we do not want the religious toleration of England, still less do we stand in need of her political liberty. The sun which favours our country with its propitious influence, gives us enjoyment sufficient without seeking to busy ourselves in the affairs of government. Liberty is, in fact, a poor substitute for a fine climate. The people of the South only require the presence of that power which raises the corn—which ripens the grape, in order to be satisfied with their position. To ask if they are happy you need only ask if they exist. But with the people of the North it is necessary to dig mines, to hew down forests, to build houses, to obtain in a small space of a few feet, that warm, comfortable sensation, which a southern peasant feels in the large mansion of nature; he is obliged to look for some artificial source of pleasure, to intoxicate himself with the poison of distilled spirits, or the tumult of political contention. We court no such advantages. To those who love care we leave the trouble of governing; and we should think it as absurd to insist upon electing deputies, and making laws because we have the right to do it, as to carry burdens because we have backs capable of supporting them. Having said what is sufficient to convince all men of sense, I will not dilate upon the beauty of our country; the majesty of Granada, the splendour of Seville, the fertility of Valencia. You know our land, and can do justice to it.”—Having thus spoken, the Spaniard folded his arms in his cloak, which he always wore, even in France; and I observed he never listened to a word that was spoken afterwards.

Having put the same question to the *Italian* that I had address to the Spa-

niard, he answered to the following purport:—That what had been just said concerning the pleasure derived from climate, applied with equal force to Italy, and set their two countries above all the rest of Europe. “Indeed,” he said, “the native of London, or Hamburgh, cannot conceive, unless he travels to our land, the pleasure to be derived from the touch of a Cisalpine atmosphere. Our nerves seem to swell and extend themselves to receive the delightful sensation; our eyes dwell without fatigue or pain upon the beauties of a rich and warm landscape; even the voice maintains its clearness only in the air which the sun has blessed. But if we had merely this advantage, we should rival and not precede Spain in happiness. It is to another circumstance that Italy owes her glory, her occupation, her delight:—to taste. With justice it has been said, that this is the only pursuit of which the pleasures far out-balance the pains. A man may meet with an unfaithful mistress, or be rejected by an ungrateful sovereign, but nothing obliges him to gaze at a bad picture, or dwell upon a disproportioned building. A great work of art may be said to be the most successful result of human effort: a fine statue requires as much genius in the conception as the most difficult problem of Newton; it demands as much skill in the execution as the formation of a time-piece; and when finished, it attracts the admiration, and gratifies the senses of thousands of spectators for thousands of years. It is, I hope, needless for them to prove that Italy excels all other nations in this respect. The sublimity of Michael Angelo, the grace and expression of Raphael, in fine, the innumerable merits of our great architects, sculptors, and painters, are not to be insulted by a comparison with the smoaky buildings of London, the monuments in the Musée Francois, or the lusty goddesses of the Belgian painters.

“Give me, above all, the music which our admirable Paesiello, Cimarosa, and Rossini have produced,—and I will not yield the palm of happiness to any part of Europe. For the prize of wisdom, too, I think we may lay a fair claim. The greatest natural philosophers, the most skilful negociators, the most gifted poets, own Italy as their birth-place. The discovery of the laws of motion, of the resistance of the air, of the barometer, of the telescope, and lately of Galvanism;

nism; the knowledge of a fourth quarter of the globe: the history of Italy, of Florence, of the Council of Trent, and of the Civil Wars of France, the Inferno, the Goffredo, and the Orlando Furioso, form a portion of the share which Italy has contributed to the civilization of Europe. It is for you, Sir," he concluded, turning to the German, "to prove that the universities of Heidelberg and Halle have done more."

The German, though he seemed to be smoking his pipe with great apathy, was not insensible to the reproach; and, like a skilful general, immediately changed the field of action.—"I can find but one fault with your discourse, Signor," he replied; "it is, that you have entirely omitted to answer the principal question, namely, why you consider your nation as the best? To this interrogatory, I can reply, with a safe conscience, that the Germans are the best people, because they do not assassinate secretly or murder openly; because they are honest in their dealings and pay their debts, whether to government or individuals, with conscience-calming punctuality. From Hamburgh to Clagenfurt, there is scarcely a village which has not its schoolmaster, whilst the capital of a province is almost ignorant of the name of executioner. Our fruit hangs on the trees by the road-side without being touched by any one; and the streets of our largest towns become still as sleep early in the night. Other nations, indeed, may boast of great discoveries in science, and of a rapid progress in political philosophy; but we furnished them with the means. They have sown a great part and reaped the whole; but we gave the field and invented the plough. It is to us that they are indebted for the art of printing, without which, knowledge could not have moved; and for the Reformation, without which it would have been arrested in its march. In modern times, too, our literature has taken a far-extended springing leap, which leaving behind it the long-past glories of Italy and France, place it by the side of England in the race towards the spectator girt, laurel-surrounded goal, which is always in the horizon of those bright geniuses, who have a heart-convulsing desire of present immortality, and a thousand-man power of intellectual sensation."

These last words caused a pause: even the Frenchman took a pinch of snuff, and sneezed twice before he would

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begin. At last he started with such volubility in praise of France, and of Paris, that I am quite incapable of representing his harangue. He gave the first ten minutes to those who had spoken before him, and tried to prove that France excelled them in the very particulars on which they had insisted. He said there was no climate in Europe equal to that of the south of France, and that even at Paris the winter was over in February. As for the fine arts, he quoted Lalande, who had spent several years in and written several volumes upon Italy, and who maintains there is nothing to be seen there equal to what is to be found in France. In modern times he thought it beyond a question, that the French painters were the first in the world, which, however, was not to be wondered at, as the English had not at all turned their attention to the fine arts. The works of David, he conceived, express a sublimity to which Raphael, born in a barbarous age, never could attain; in music the French now far excelled the Italians. As for virtue, which his German friend had introduced somewhat *mal a propos* into the discussion, he, like the Delphine of Madame de Stael, defined it to consist in a succession of generous impulses. And these impulses acted no where with such vigour, as in the country where an officer sacrificed his life, in order to give the alarm to his regiment, and a father went cheerfully to execution to save the life of his son. Having thrown out these remarks with an air *degage*, he put on a more Socratic look, as he addressed himself to the Englishman. "It is with your nation that ours is most fit to be compared. In England, and in France, *les lumieres* are generally spread like the rays of the sun; in other countries they are scattered like flashes of lightning. But it is more especially in French that elementary books in every art and science are written; it is in French that the reading of the world, profound or trivial, is carried on. If a mathematician wishes to read the deepest book of science, he studies the *Mecanique Celeste*; if a Russian nobleman desires to learn what is meant by the words *feeling* or *wit*, he takes up the tragedies of Racine, or the tales of Voltaire, and learns to smile and to cry like a civilized being. Even the discoveries of your great Newton have been brought to perfection by D'Alembert, and Laplace; and in pure mathematics you have not for a long time produced

an equal to Lagrange. Impartial judges (bowing to me) will agree, that in the most profound and abstract of human sciences, the people whom you treat as frivolous and superficial, have gone far beyond you. Your mathematicians of Oxford and Cambridge, are not even acquainted with that form of the calculus which we use for our investigations. If we excel you in abstract knowledge, there is still less doubt that we are superior in practical happiness. For happiness consists in nothing so much as in a temper of mind fitted for pleasure, or, to use a chemical phrase, in having a capacity for enjoyment. A man may satisfy himself of this, by travelling the same road when he is gay, and when he is gloomy. In the first case, the country will appear to him smiling, beautiful, or sublime; in the second, it will seem tame, dull, or savage. Now the disposition of a Frenchman, is to see every thing *en beau*. I remember being in a wretched prison guarded by Spaniards, who any day in the week, might have taken a fancy to cut our throats; yet we laughed all day and acted plays in the evening. Englishmen would have cut holes in the wall, and have been shot in the attempt to escape. If we know how to bear adversity, we also know how to enjoy prosperity. What in the world so good as the restaurateurs and the theatres of Paris? What country can compare with France for wines, for dress, for dancing, and for plays?

"You will affirm that these sensual, and marketable enjoyments destroy the taste for domestic happiness; but it is not so: no people are more attached than the French to their near relations; and England cannot easily produce a mother more attached than Madame de Sevigné. It is the same with all the domestic relations; and it is sufficient to go to the *cimetière* of Pere la Chaise, to be convinced how true the affection which the mothers, and sons, and sisters of France have for each other. How simple, and yet how tender the inscriptions upon the tombs! There the sister goes to renew the tender recollection of her sister, and a son to place a garland over the grave of his mother. With you, the dead are never mentioned, never visited, and, I believe, seldom remembered. With the kindest feelings to their relations, the French, it is true, do not think it inconsistent to mix the sociability of a larger circle; and they endeavour to be happy through the short

period of existence allotted them; whilst the English lose half their lives in becoming acquainted with those who are jumbled into the same half-century as themselves."

AN AGREEABLE MAN.

What is meant by an agreeable man?

In *Spain* an agreeable man is he who is possessed of a good person, and an incessant flow of talk. The science of conversation is there in its infancy, and no distinction is made between him who talks much and him who talks well. The leading topic of a *bel esprit* is women; and the language itself is so formed as to confine praise or blame entirely to their bodily qualities. *Es buena moza*, literally "she is a good girl," means she is a pretty girl. *Tiene merito*, "she has merit," means she has some good points in her face or figure. Besides being able to decide the proper degree of merit which every woman possesses, the Spanish agreeable man is able to cover obscenity with the veil which is just thick enough to make it admissible in good company, though even that is sometimes thrown aside like those which are worn on the Alameda. From this source he derives the principal fund of his conversation, and makes amends for a total ignorance on every kind of literature and politics. But then, he also knows the plays which are to be acted for the next month, and can tell to a tittle, if a single indecent posture has been omitted in the fandango.

The agreeable man in *Germany* is quite a different sort of person. He is a gentleman who endeavours to make wit and gallantry after the most approved models of the age of Louis XIV. But his specific gravity being much greater than that of the French nation, he is, in fact, as little like M. de Coulanges or St. Evremont as can well be imagined. His little anecdotes are drawn from the Roman history, or, at best, from the Seven Years' War: his remarks and observations are conscientiously sincere, but insufferably dull; and his wit always disposes to melancholy.

In *Italy*, an agreeable man is a much pleasanter person; his manners are particularly civil; he often has a good taste in the fine arts and in polite literature, and, perhaps, an agreeable talent for music; but there is a feebleness and effeminacy in his tone of thinking, which finally wearies; and his conversation is the pace of a *manege* horse, trained till he has lost all freedom of action.

If we go from Italy to England, we shall find that the agreeable man gets more reputation, more eating, and more drinking, in return for his talk than anywhere else. He is perpetually invited to dinner, where from ten to five-and-twenty people are invited expressly to meet him; and after all, it often happens that he is sullen or unwell, and will not speak a word from beginning of dinner till the end. But if he should happen to be in spirits, he often talks so loud, or so disputatiously, that you are forced to bow to his opinions till after coffee. But if a rival wit has been asked to meet him, there generally arises a furious contest for superiority; each tries to gain a hearing for himself only, and each attacks his opponent with arguments too important for the hour of digestion.

France, perhaps, affords the best models of an agreeable man. In them we see the most refined politeness towards each other, mixed with a most perfect confidence in themselves—a sprightliness which enlivens all around, and produces as much light by reflection as by radiation—a skill in placing every topic in the situation which alone can make it amusing in conversation—a grace in treating the most frivolous matters, a lightness in touching the most serious, and a quickness in passing from one to the other, which to all other Europeans must seem quite unattainable. They console themselves by saying the French are frivolous, by which they mean that they interest themselves in little frivolous concerns; but they forget to mention that they are the same people who marched into Lisbon and Moscow, and perfected the discoveries of Newton.—

LONDON MANNERS.

The first inconvenience of a London life, is the late hour of dinner. To pass the day *impransus*, and then to sit down to a great dinner at eight o'clock, is entirely against the first dictates of common sense, and common stomachs. Some learned persons, indeed, endeavour to support this practice by precedent, and quote the Roman supper; but those suppers were at three o'clock in the afternoon, and ought to be a subject of contempt, instead of imitation, in Grosvenor Square. Women, however, are not so irrational as men, in London, and generally sit down to a substantial luncheon, at three or four; if men would do the same, the meal at eight might be lightened of many of its weighty dishes, and conversation

would be no loser; for it is not to be concealed, that conversation suffers great interruption from the manner in which English dinners are managed; first the host and hostess (or her unfortunate co-adjutor) are employed during three parts of dinner, in doing the work of the servants, helping fish, or carving large pieces of venison to twenty hungry souls, to the total loss of the host's powers of amusement, and the entire disfigurement of the fair hostess's face. Much time is also lost by the attention every one is obliged to pay, in order to find out (which he can never do if he is short-sighted) what dishes are at the other end of the table; and if a guest wishes for a glass of wine, he must peep through the Apollos and Cupids of the *plateau*, in order to find some one to drink with him; otherwise he must wait till some one asks him, which will probably happen in succession, so that after having had no wine for half an hour, he will have to drink five glasses in five minutes. Convenience teaches that the best manner of enjoying society at dinner, is to leave every thing to servants that servants can do; so that you may have no farther trouble than to accept of the dishes that are offered to you, and to drink at your own time, of the wines which are handed round. An English dinner, on the contrary, seems to presume beforehand on the silence, dulness, and stupidity of the guests, and to have provided little interruptions, like the jerks which the chaplain gives to the Archbishop, to prevent his going to sleep during sermon.

Some time after dinner comes the time of going to a ball or a rout; but this is sooner said than done: it often requires as much time to go from St. James's Square to Cleveland Row, as to go from London to Hounslow. It would require volumes to describe the disappointment which occurs on arriving in the brilliant mob of a ball-room. Sometimes, as it has been before said, a friend is seen squeezed like yourself, at another end of the room, without a possibility of your communicating except by signs; and as the whole arrangement of the society is regulated by mechanical pressure, you may happen to be pushed against those to whom you do not wish to speak, whether bores, slight acquaintances, or determined enemies. Confined by the crowd, and stifled by the heat, and dazzled by the light, all powers of intellect are lost;

lost; wit loses its point, and sagacity its observation; indeed, the limbs are so crushed, and the tongue so parched, that, except particularly well-dressed ladies, all are in the case of the traveller, Dr. Clarke, when he says in the plains of Syria, that some might blame him for not making moral reflections on the state of the country; but that he must own the heat quite deprived him of all power of thought.

Hence it is, that the conversation you hear around you, is generally nothing more than "Have you been here long?"—"Have you been at Mrs. Hotroom's?"—"Are you going to Lady Death-squeeze's?" Hence, too, Madame de Stael said, very justly, to an Englishman, "*Dans vos routs le corps fait plus de frias que l'esprit.*" But even if there are persons of a constitution robust enough to talk, they yet do not dare to do so, as twenty heads are forced into the compass of one square foot; and even when, to your great delight, you see a person to whom you have much to say, and, by fair means or foul, elbows and toes, knees and shoulders, have got near them, they often dismiss you with shaking you by the hand, and saying "My dear Mr. —, how do you do?" and then continue a conversation with a person whose ear is three inches nearer. At one o'clock, however, the crowd diminishes; and if you are not tired by the five or six hours of playing at company, which you have already had, you may be very comfortable for the rest of the evening.

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

There is nothing in human councils, or human institutions which stands still. The letter of law is changed to suit the occasion of the day, and the spirit of a government varies with the disposition of the rulers who govern, and the state of the people who are governed. It behoves us, then, as members of a free community, priding ourselves upon our liberty, and enjoying, (still enjoying) the benefits of a more unrestrained, more immediate, and more general discussion of all our interests, than any nation ever before possessed, to examine from time to time the condition of our state vessel, to overhaul her rigging, and to see that she has not sprung a-leak upon the stormy voyages she has undergone. But if any moment is more peculiarly fit for such an enquiry, it is when a long and eventful reign has come to its melancholy termination; and when a

prince ascends the throne, under the auspices of new laws, which we are assured are better calculated to protect legal and orderly freedom, than the old and venerable barriers called Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights, which they are intended to modify and supplant.

In reckoning up what the crown has gained upon liberty during this reign, we must take into account its two wars, American and French, and the increase of public debt and establishments. In estimating, on the other hand, what new securities liberty has gained, we must put into the balance Mr. Fox's law of libel, the resolution against general warrants, and the vast increased weight of public opinion; and this again leads us to the alarms and restrictive measures.

Whatever may have been the reasons, good or bad, which induced the government of this country to undertake a war against the insurgent colonies of America, and whatever may have been the policy, or even the necessity of entering into a contest with the French republic, it cannot be denied that the object of both these wars was to oppose popular revolution, and that their spirit was contrary to popular principles. It may be said, indeed, that both of these wars were supported by the full concurrence of the people of this country. But this objection takes away nothing from the weight of the observation which I wish to make. It must be recollected, that a high-spirited nation is easily incited to take arms; and, whether they do so, in a cause congenial to freedom, depends entirely upon the occasion which presents itself, and the use which is made of it by those whose talents qualify them to direct public opinion. Now the occasions upon which both of the wars before alluded to, arose, were the resistance of a people to its government: and the arguments adopted to induce this country to declare war, were chiefly an appeal to its insulted dignity, and to its feelings of loyalty and piety. The example of the French Revolution, however, has had an influence still more direct on the progress of our affairs: the French Revolution is ascribed to every thing, and every thing is ascribed to the French Revolution. If a book is written containing new opinions on subjects of philosophy and literature, we are told to avoid them, for to Voltaire and to Rousseau is to be ascribed the French Revolution.

Revolution. If an ignorant cobbler harangues a ragged mob in Smithfield, we are told that the state is in danger, for the fury of a mob was the beginning of the French Revolution. If there is discontent in the manufacturing towns, we are told that the discontent of the manufacturing towns in France was the great cause of the French Revolution. Nay; even if it is proposed to allow a proprietor of land to shoot partridges and hares on his own ground, we are told this would be to admit the doctrine of natural rights, the source of all the evils of the French Revolution.

It is in vain that these absurd clamours are repeatedly refuted; it is in vain that it is shown that the French Revolution arose from one simple cause, the discordance of a brave and enlightened people, with a corrupt, bigoted, and despotic government; it is in vain that the atrocities of the revolution are shown to have been owing partly to the cruel character of the people, and partly to the alarm excited by foreign interference.

Whilst the power of the crown has been thus increased by the doctrines, it has been no less augmented by the burdens of the war. After the peace of 1763, the interest of the debt was about 4,600,000*l.*: it is now 31,440,000*l.* exclusive of the sinking fund. The whole sum raised by taxes and loans did not then exceed 14,000,000*l.*: the whole sum now raised yearly in taxes alone, is between 54 and 55,000,000*l.* But this sum is great, not only in comparison of all which has preceded, but also with reference to the entire wealth of the country. The income-tax of ten per cent. produced more than 14,000,000*l.* Now it is easy to conceive how great a weight must be added to government by the immense sum thus collected from the people. This great revenue is divided into three portions, each adding in its vocation to the influence of the crown. The first is the debt; the second establishment; and the third office. With respect to the influence of the debt, it is greater than could at first sight be supposed: a fundholder is entitled to his dividend, it may be said, and has no obligation to any one: but this rule does not hold in practice. The large fundholder imagines, that it will be of advantage to him to be a friend of government in any business that may take place with respect to the financial measures of the year, and even though the minister

should discourage such an expectation, it is impossible to avoid a certain degree of coquetry.

The second application of the taxes is to establishment. An establishment which in 1790 cost four millions and a half, now costs upwards of eighteen; our troops are augmented with the increase of our colonies; and our forts and governments are multiplied in every part of the globe.

The third direction of the public money is to maintain offices, and allowing that many reductions have been made, there still remains enough to create and support an independent, unpopular, incapable administration. It has been said, that the reduction of establishment and offices diminishes the influence of the crown. Supposing that at the moment it does so; yet an establishment once reduced, is on the contrary a source of increased influence; for persons who have served will be much more anxious to be appointed to a vacancy, than those who have not already devoted themselves to a profession. It is wonderful to observe, too, with how much eagerness parents seek to employ their sons in a situation of perpetual dependence; 10,000*l.* a year may be made by physic; 14,000*l.* a year by surgery; 18,000*l.* a year by the property of a newspaper; 17,000*l.* a year by pulling out teeth; but rather than all these, a prudent, steady man, will make his first-born a clerk in a government office, where, if he surpasses his fellows both in merit and favour, he may, in time, receive 2000*l.* a year at the will of a minister.

The produce of the taxes descends in fertilising showers upon the proprietors, the agents, and the members of boroughs. For them there is a state lottery which is all prizes; the beautiful gradation of ranks is observed there, in all its harmonious proportions. The elector of a borough, or a person he recommends, obtains a situation in the customs; the attorney who acts for the borough, disposes of a commission in the navy: the member of parliament obtains a place in the Mediterranean for a near relation; the proprietor of two boroughs obtains a peerage in perspective; and the larger proprietor, followed by his attendant members, shines in the summer of royal favour, with a garter, a regiment, an earldom, or a marquise.

To all this we must add the old inevitable influence of the crown, in the profession,

professions of the church and the law. How few men there are who can go through life in utter contempt of the rewards, which are the proper objects of their ambition! How few who, contenting themselves with deservings to be Bishops and Chancellors, by their talents and industry, do not also endeavour to become so by their servility!

Let us now examine the opposite scale. Some improvements in constitutional law have been made during the late reign. The chief of these is undoubtedly the libel law of Mr. Fox, to which the whole security of the free press is owing: another is the declaration of the illegality of general warrants; and a great step was made by placing the civil list more entirely under the controul of parliament, first at the beginning of the reign, and then by Mr. Burke's bill. The act by which George III. at his accession, restrained his successor from removing the judges, is also a benefit; but so slight a one as to be hardly worth mentioning.

The publication of the debates in parliament, and the general diffusion of political knowledge, is on the other hand, a most important change. The censor of the Roman republic, however austere in the exercise of his functions, could never equal in minuteness of enquiry, or severity of rebuke, the unseen and irresponsible public of the British Empire. What statesman can hear with unskaken nerves, that voice, which, beginning in the whispers of the metropolis, rises into the loud tone of defiance, within the walls of parliament, and is then prolonged by means of the hundred mouths of the press, till its innumerable echoes rebound from the shores of Cornwall, and the mountains of Inverness?

It must be owned, certainly, that the severity of public criticism checks some of those unprincipled bargains and sudden turns which used formerly to prevail among political parties. Upon the whole, however, the political review tends greatly to the advantage of the court. Not only are its enemies divided and dispirited by the shackles that are thrown upon them, but ministers and courtiers are at the same time mainly free from this restraint. Those who coalesce with the men in power, those who are converts to the treasury, find in the rewards of office a solid compensation for any hooting they may undergo. Whilst their adversaries are obliged to suspend their attention to

public affairs, in order to reconcile some discrepancy which appears between their opinions on reform, at an interval of twenty years, they who limit their humble ambition to office, change their whole dress, and appear with the greatest self-applause in an entire new suit of principles, opinions, sentiments, and votes. The criticism of the public, in the meantime, does not stop at individuals; party itself is the object of attack, and a regular committee is formed in the capital, more completely organized than any party ever was, for the purpose of preaching against political union. Nothing, of course, can be more agreeable to the court party, with whom, indeed, this language originated. If they could once divide their opponents, and bring a third of them to oppose rashly and inopportunely, and another third to oppose weakly and seldom, the court battle would be half gained. The only solid hope of having any government carried on would then rest on the ministry, and however ingenious the objections that might be made to their measures, no man could safely say that he preferred the public views of opposition to those of the ministry. The tools of administration are, therefore, most ready to join in decrying party. They are still more pleased when the self-styled reformers go a step farther, and reprobate that very party which is opposed to the Court. "Down with the whigs!" cries a trading politician of St. Stephens; "Down with the whigs!" echoes a political tradesman from Charing Cross. Thus it is that the ministers of the king, and the preceptors of the multitude, unite in philippics against that party to which the house of Brunswick owes its crown, and the people its Bill of Rights.

With respect to the fate of the constitution, it is somewhat difficult to say what it will be. The progress which we have described above, certainly tends directly to the euthanasia of Mr. Hume; but there are two circumstances of no slight magnitude, which will obstruct the final dissolution of our liberties. Both of these have been described as forwarding the growth of arbitrary power; but they will both impede its complete triumph.

The first is the national debt. However well inclined the people may be to pay enormous sums in taxes, for a government in which they take a share, and to support wars of their own choice, they

they will never submit to pay so immense a tribute for a debt incurred by their ancestors, to a king who admits them to no portion of his power. The only thing which reconciles the people to the payment of sixty millions a year, is, the public discussion of political affairs in the House of Commons, and in the newspapers.

The second circumstance which stands in the way of arbitrary power, is this very liberty of discussion. There certainly exists in this country, a very large mass of enlightened men, who, without taking a decided part in her political parties, entertain liberal ideas, and are favourable to the progress of knowledge, and all the improvements of civilised life. It is not easy to conceive a nation passing from so general a diffusion of the light of knowledge, to the utter darkness of a despotism; and this circumstance formerly induced me to think the British Constitution was immortal.

Of all questions which can occur, there are none so interesting as those which concern the length and constitution of Parliament. Every question which relates to it, the duration of Parliament, non-resident freemen, diminishing expense, corrupt boroughs, &c. &c. ought to be brought into close and successive discussion. Many improvements might, no doubt, be made without the slightest danger. But, in my humble opinion, it would not be a wise measure to divide the country into districts, each of which is to return a member: such an alteration would, in fact, be a complete change in the form of government, and, as such, it is the very catastrophe which I am anxious to avoid. When we are obliged to look out for a new Constitution, a more perfect one may, perhaps, be devised. But, for one, I should wish to avoid such a necessity, because, with all the burthens of unnecessary wars, I still perceive more freedom, in combination with justice and civilisation, in England, than I ever saw, heard, or read of in any other country.

On the other hand, those who are so violently prejudiced against the very name of Reform, should consider how many of the people are ready to serve under that banner; and they should beware how they increase those numbers, by protecting clear and convicted abuses—*Omnia dat qui justa negat.*

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF
THE WANDERING JEW.

How magnificent is the city of Rome.

Its splendour for a moment dazzled my senses, and benumbed my grief; but it has quickly resumed with increased pain. The thousands of human beings whom I see every moment of the day, seem as strange to me as the flies and the birds. I am not a passenger in the same ship: I am worse than a stranger. I wish them all struck with the same judgment as myself; I wish the world a desert, every one of its cities a Carthage, and every Roman citizen a Marius—yet I bear the Romans no ill will; they have conquered, they have triumphed; they flourish and enjoy.—I hate the triumphant and the prosperous—yet they are vicious and corrupt: in that I rejoice; their manners may afford me pleasure and satisfaction.

I supped yesterday with Atticus.—As he is an idle and luxurious man, he supped at an earlier hour than other people. Every thing was in a magnificent style. Having previously bathed and anointed, we lay down about three o'clock on beds of tortoise-shell, to a table of which the support was ivory.—Each guest was crowned with a garland of roses, and the ceiling was so contrived as to open from time to time, and let fall showers of perfume upon the room. There was a great profusion of sow's belly, and thrushes, and phænicopterus, and many of the dishes were deliciously prepared with honey. The liver of a goose, however, dressed with mulsus, milk, and fig, was the best dish I tasted. Yet it moved even my pity, to see a poor friend of the family to whom the good dishes were never offered: he had not even the good bread which was put to more favoured guests, and happening by chance to taste his wine, I found it execrable. The best part of his dinner consisted of a kind of bad crab. I wonder what should induce him to come. The conversation certainly could offer no inducement; it was in the usual style of this great aristocracy, stately, correct, and dull.—The dinner was as barren of ideas, as it was copious in dishes. At long pauses, and in short phrases, a few words were said upon these last; as, "This turbot is excellent."—"Very good indeed."—"The wild venison is very well drest."—"I think it is."—Sometimes, too, a conversation of ten minutes took place upon jewels, which all the company understood; but the subjects which alone seemed to excite any interest, were wrestling and wine. I have acquired much information on these two subjects, and an indigestion.

I was

I was present lately at an entertainment which promised very different fare from that which I have described above. It was a supper given by Lucan to Quintilian, Statius, Juvenal, and other wits. Lucan is very rich, and his supper was splendid; but for amusement, it afforded little. Every one seemed resolved not to speak unless he could shine, and the conversation fell entirely into the hands of Paullinus, who, being a great talker, did nothing but entertain us with an account of his journey to Baiae, and the effects of the hot bath upon his own constitution. Telesinus, who sate next to me, said, in a low voice, "If this man had travelled over Asia and Africa, and was now relating very curious things which he had seen and heard, he would excite the envy and hatred of the greater part of the company; but as he is a silly fellow, and only talks nonsense, no one disputes with him the place of orator of the table."

Upon the whole, the day passed disagreeably. Quintilian was out of humour at being asked to meet Juvenal, and Statius was evidently revolving in his mind a comparison between the splendour of Lucan's table, and the empty honour which his public recitations of the Thebaid produce. I asked each of the guests separately, his opinion of the Pharsalia, which seems to me to contain more fine passages and energetic thoughts, than any work of the day: such as the comparison between Cæsar and Pompey; the passage of the soul of Pompey into those of Brutus and Cato, &c. &c.

No one, however, was of my opinion. One said that Lucan was a very worthy man, but knew nothing of poetry; another, that his taste was execrable; a third, that all that was good in him was in the first half of the first book; and a fourth whispered in my ear, that the story had been much better versified by a friend of his, whose poem had not been fairly read through by any one of his readers, but himself.

Kal. Sextiles.—A fire has broken out which threatens to destroy this immense town. I was paying my respects to Flavius Sabinus, who was taking his exercise in a carriage under a covered portico, when an account was brought us, of a violent fire that was consuming some houses on the Cælian hill. He immediately threw himself from his carriage, and we both ran to the spot; for, as his house is at the back of the Cælian, he reasonably

feared that it might be in danger. Upon arriving there, we found that the fire had begun in the Circus, and, catching some shops, had already been carried a great way by the wind. The narrow streets, and high houses, afford a great advantage to the flames. It was curious to see the people who came out of these filthy habitations; many of them seemed not to have seen the light of day for years; their clothes grew as it were to their skin, and their limbs, unused to the weight of their bodies, scarcely supported them; they turned their hollow eyes on every side, as if uncertain where they were and what had happened to them: yet I observed that when they recovered their senses, they were much more anxious about their rotten moveables, than the senators for the safety of their tables of gold and silver. But the very poor had a more pressing care. Multitudes were deprived on a sudden of their only means of subsistence; and some, despairing of succour, threw themselves again into the flames from which they had been rescued. The streets were filled with children crying for their parents, and old men blind and helpless from age. Most of these either mistaking the way by which they could escape, were surrounded and devoured by the flames, or overthrown and trampled upon by a mob of ruffians, who were searching for plunder. An old woman of some fortune, was entirely deserted by her slaves in the beginning of the tumult: she loaded herself with gold, and had already passed the fire, when she was knocked down by some of a gang of plunderers. I saw one of them, after she had been stripped, throw her back into the flames. In another part, a slave devoted his life to save the child of his master; he threw him into his mother's arms, and, overcome with the torture of his wound, ran himself upon a sword. No aid was brought to quench the flames. The soldiers of the city guard ran about disguised with the mob, and partook of the spoils. At intervals these wretches gave a shout, as it were, of encouragement, which formed a contrast with the cries of women and children. When the fire reached a great palace, the clamour was redoubled, and some of the most unpopular patricians, so far from getting aid against the fire, had the misery of seeing lighted torches thrown into their houses. They themselves fled in different directions out of the town. Yet, in the midst of all the clamour,

as I was passing through a quarter of the town remote from the fire, I saw the people lying in the sun, and eating their fried fish as if nothing had happened;—perhaps, to-morrow the same calamity will reach their own dwellings.

Upon the whole, it was the most amusing day I have passed in Rome.

15. *Idus*. Nero came in from Antium just as his own palace was taking fire; he has ordered his gardens to be thrown open to the people, and temporary buildings to be erected. He has even sent for furniture from Ostia, and lowered the price of bread to a mere trifle: yet an absurd rumour has spread amongst the people, that he played the “Fire of Troy,” whilst his own town was meeting the same fate.

23. It is now said that Nero set fire to the city himself; he has taken a prompt and decisive resolution. “It is necessary,” he said to his freedman, “to dispel this rumour, and convince the people that I am ready to punish. The idle opinion they have taken up, must be refuted by a great and public measure. Let the Christians be condemned and put to death immediately.”

24. The order of the Emperor has been fully executed; I went to-day to glad my eyes with the sight. It was diverting to see some of the victims shut up in the skins of wild beasts, pursued by dogs, and torn to pieces; others were crucified, and I told them, as they groaned with pain, that they ought to be satisfied, since they were treated in the same manner as their God. As the night approached, fires were kindled, and a number of them thrown into the flames. The people do not consider them as guilty, and they are looked on with compassion; but as it was a dark night, and the fires were very splendid, a great multitude attended the spectacle. I alone beheld their sufferings with real delight. I did not lose one of their cries, nor pass unobserved one of their contorsions; and when their bones were consumed, I scattered them in the air, that none might preserve their remains. Nero was there, and mixed in the crowd in the disguise of a coachman.

It is astonishing to see the rapid and magnificent creation of the new city. Of the fourteen quarters into which old Rome was divided, three were burnt to the ground, and seven more reduced to

ruins. Nero has shown no small degree of judgment in his directions for rebuilding the town. Each house is separate and independent, forming what is called an island. For every house built within a certain time, of a kind of stone which is not affected by fire, like the common tufa, the Emperor grants a premium. He also engages to build the porticoes in front of every house, from his own funds: add to this, that the streets are broad, that each house has a yard, and that water is brought to fixed places for the convenience of extinguishing fires.

So much for the public; but Nero has not been less careful for, or less generous to himself. He has built an immense palace, which contains every luxury that a fertile imagination could suggest to a sensual disposition. Gold, and silver, and ivory, are the common materials of the furniture. The columns of marble from Alexandria, are, through a wantonness of decoration, incrustated with marble from Numidia. The ceilings of the supper-rooms change with every service, now exhibiting a face of glass, and now of painting. But one is still more surprised on going into the garden. Three of the seven hills of Rome are devoted to this purpose. Here the trees are so planted as to form in a short time an impenetrable shade; there the ground is left open, and leaves a long prospect of lakes, meadows, and temples. In some parts are confined the beasts of the three quarters of the globe; in others the various plumage of a thousand birds delight and dazzle the eyes. The magnificence of the baths is indescribable. Even those in the city, built for the use of the people, are adorned with silver spouts, and enjoy the convenience of a grove, and a circus. I saw a common fellow, who had probably been active in the fire, lounge out of the bath with this exclamation: “Some praise Romulus, for building the city; and some praise Augustus for beautifying it; but I say long live Nero for burning it.”

HAPPINESS.

As a spectator of life, I am often led to observe what makes men happy, whilst they who are playing the game, seem scarcely ever to reflect on the causes of their pleasures and pains.

It appears to me, that if men were to consult rationally their own interests, their pursuits would always tend to something positive and fixed. For I have observed, that those who follow

diligently a trade or a science, the results of which can be weighed and measured, are generally men of cheerful disposition and unreserved conversation; whilst those whose hearts are fixed upon the esteem of society, or public reputation, are, for the most part, infected with gloom in their solitude, and jealousy in their commerce with the world. An instance of this has occurred in my own street:—Publius Virginius kept one of the smallest wine-shops in Rome, and was long in a state of great poverty: to make matters worse, as his neighbours thought, he had married early in life; but this circumstance, though it narrowed his means, quickened his industry. By great care and frugality he accumulated a small sum of money, with which he bought a larger shop, and laid in a stock of better wine. His house acquired great custom, partly from the merit of the owner, but more from the superior excellence of his commodity. Step by step he bought a vineyard, a villa, and finally, a palace in Rome. This man was never seen to be out of spirits; in the worst days of his poverty he always said he knew what his best efforts could do, and was willing and able to do it; nor did he ever sink under the event of untoward fortune: he reckoned, justly, perhaps, that prudence must in time gain the victory over chance.

His son Quintus is a very different man. Inheriting from his father a large property, he endeavoured, as much as possible, to forget the obligation. He would fain have had it believed, that the person to whose skill and talents he

was indebted for an independant fortune, was not the same Publius to whom he owed his life and education, but some remote ancestry, of whose history he knew nothing. Not only did he show a want of gratitude and right feeling by this behaviour, but exposed himself to general ridicule: it is become a matter of diversion for all the idle patricians, to remark the efforts he makes to push himself into their society. In the forum, he is always squeezing up to a judge, and whispering in his ear some trifling piece of news. He returns to his house with a greater number of clients, and is more generous in the distribution of the *sportula*, than any one. His suppers are the most sumptuous in Rome, and are attended by persons of the greatest eminence, both for rank and talent. Yet he is never satisfied with his situation. If he can find nobody to play at the *palla* with him, he thinks it is because he is the son of a victualler. If Petronius Arbiter gives a supper to which he is not invited he thinks he is losing ground in the world. If Gordian has theatricals at his villa, and he is not one of the company, he supposes that there is an inner circle of patrician society, infinitely more select, more refined, and more agreeable than that in which he moves, from which he shall always be excluded. Hence his life is a series of little vexations, and useless miseries: his invention is always on the rack to find a motive for discontent, and the slightest word of raillery is sufficient to poison the purest of his joys, and outweigh a solid year of ostentatious parade.

END OF THE FORTY-NINTH VOLUME.

The Binder is requested to place the Plate of
 The Republic of Venezuela, facing the Title-page
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